

BILINGUAL PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE:
TURKISH-GERMAN BILINGUALS' APOLOGISING
STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

This empirical study aims at examining the bilingual pragmatic competence of Turkish-German bilinguals with a focus on the speech act of apologizing. The main research questions that prompted this study are; “What apologizing strategies do Turkish-German bilinguals use?”, “What kind of strategies do Turkish-German bilinguals implement on a pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic level?” and “Do they make bi-directional pragmatic transfer?”

The study is explorative and descriptive in nature using a laboratory method. The sample of the study consists of 70 Turkish-German bilingual university students. For data collection, a set of discourse role-play tasks (DRPT) for both languages was developed. Subsequently, the subjects were assigned to play the situations first in Turkish and after a two-month break in German so as to reduce the influence of the language usage. These role plays were video-taped, which constitutes the primary source of the data. Furthermore, a questionnaire was designed to collect additional data on demographic information, subjects’ language acquisition, language learning process and their parents’ educational background.

The analyses of the data show that the subjects apply some of the apologizing strategies forwarded in the CCSARP manual. However, the strategies giving explanation and a promise of forbearance are almost never used throughout the whole data. The IFID use in both Turkish and German has some peculiarities that have to be mentioned. The data shows that our subjects mostly prefer an expression of an apology in Turkish, whereas in German they prefer an expression of regret which is almost never observed in Turkish. An expression of an apology in German is often preferred, when taking the whole data into consideration. Moreover, the whole data denotes that in Turkish the subjects used more IFIDs than in German.

Furthermore, the rare use of IFID types of regret in Turkish and forgiveness in both languages can be interpreted as a lack of the pragmatic competence. In particular, the IFIDs of forgiveness which may be recognized as more polite are not frequently used by the subjects in both languages. Secondly, taking on responsibility strategies are also applied in both languages. Quite interesting is the high preference for making a justification in both languages. The explicit statement of the violation is also mostly preferred in Turkish. However, it is frequently observed in combination with a justification that immediately reduces the responsibility that is taken for the violation at hand. Culturally seen, such a combination can be highly face-threatening and not be accepted as an apology.

Another such combination is that of an IFID and a justification which can also be realized as face-threatening and the effect of such a set of apologizing strategies could be low as the felicity condition of sincerity is not fulfilled. In other words, while on the one hand one

apologizes by using an illocutionary force indicating device, on the other hand one downgrades the intention of an apology by using a justification that is face-threatening to the complaine and very self-oriented in favor of the apologizer.

These appearances in our data may denote a low pragmatic competence as far as apologizing is concerned. Furthermore, in terms of the harmony bringing property of an apology, we can say that the rare use of the 'lack of intent' strategy may also denote a low pragmatic competence with regard to meaningful and effective repair work. We observed two types of offer of repair in the 'jumping-the-line' situation: the first type constitutes every utterance that refers to a verbal offer made; the second constitutes the gestures and mimes that stand for an offer of repair in that situation, which we called 'non-verbal offer of repair'. Considering this situation, we observed that in both languages an offer of repair is mostly preferred.

Comparing the non-verbal and the verbal strategies, we observed that the non-verbal strategy is preferred more in Turkish than in German, whereas for the verbal one the opposite is in use. There may be two reasons why the subjects preferred the non-verbal strategy in Turkish for repairing; the first could be that body language is more a part of the Turkish culture than the German one; the second reason could be that the easier way of showing is favored instead of producing an utterance because of lack of pragmatic competence.

As far as the situation of ignoring is concerned, we observed various strategies that are related to facework due to the fact that this situation apparently needs more repairing strategies. With respect to Ting-Toomey 's face negotiation theory, we categorized the offer of repair strategies into: offer of repair with mutual facework, other-oriented facework, self-oriented facework and offers with FTA. Mutual facework in offer of repair strategies was preferred equally in both languages. The data also shows that other-oriented strategies were preferred more in Turkish than in German, the same is valid for self-oriented strategies and offers with FTA.

In total we observed that the subjects used more offer of repair strategies in Turkish than in German. The assumption put forward by Ting-Toomey that individuals from a collective culture apply more mutual or other-oriented facework strategies, cannot be observed in our data in which all strategies were applied. Moreover, at first glance self-oriented facework seems to be used more in Turkish by our subjects than all the other ones, which may show that our subjects could be under the effect of individualistic culture. However, when we sum up the mutual and other-oriented facework strategies we achieve a higher number than all the other strategies applied in individualistic cultures, showing that our subjects are applying conflict management strategies belonging to collective culture. Referring to the strategies with FTA, we can speak about a lack of pragmatic competence as these highly face-threatening and impolite ways of offering repair are not appropriate.

As far as the internal intensification in the 'jumping-the-line' situation is concerned, a high rate of exclamation use in German is seen. This is not valid for the situation of ignoring which can be explained by the duration of time between the violation happening and the realizing by the offender followed by the realization of the apologizing act. The shorter the time between them, the higher the possibility of the use of an exclamation as an internal intensifier. Here the intensifier serves as a face-saving means, stressing the point of realization and the lack of intent.

Language specific uses are the use of particle 'ya' in Turkish as an IFID internal intensifier. This particle is preferred more in the situation of ignoring; the reason for this lies presumably in the need for intensifying the apology more via 'ya' with its pitying effect as the violation of ignoring is a stronger one than jumping the line.

Regarding the informality of ya, it was observed with regard to the addressees that it was used the most in the interlocution with the same-aged colleague followed by the elderly colleague, the boss and the student. Subsequently, the greater the distance and power between the interlocutors, the less the possibility to use 'ya' in the utterance. Furthermore, as can be interpreted from the interlocution with the student, the need to intensify with a pitying particle is even less when the apologizer, in this case the teacher, is in a higher position than the person receiving the apology.

Discovering characteristics of bilinguals' language usage - namely the pragmatic competence - is of great importance for SLA and SLT research. Therefore it is expected that the key findings of the study will serve in the development of innovative and qualitative language programs.

Keywords: Turkish-German bilinguals, bilingual pragmatic competence, speech acts, apologies, apologizing strategies, DRPT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
CHAPTER I	17
Introduction to the Study	17
CHAPTER II.....	23
Review of Related Literature.....	23
1. Pragmatics	24
1.1 Towards a Definition	24
2. Speech Acts	27
2.1 Performatives versus Constatives	27
2.2 Austin’s Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts	29
2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts	31
2.4 Speech Acts and Rules: Felicity Conditions	36
2.5 Implementation of Speech Acts in Empirical Studies	37
3. Cross-Cultural Pragmatics	41
3.1 Culture	44
3.2 Universality and Cultural Specific Issues in Pragmatics	45
4. Pragmatic Competence.....	48
4.1 Towards a Definition	48
4.2 Ways of Testing Pragmatic Competence	49
5. Interlanguage Pragmatics	53
5.1 Pragmatic Transfer.....	54
5.1.1 Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic Transfer	56
5.1.2 Positive and Negative Pragmatic Transfer.....	57
6. Politeness.....	59
6.1 The Phenomenon of Politeness and Face: A Historical Overview	60
6.2 Face-Negotiation Theory	66
7. The Speech Act of Apology	68

7.1 What is an Apology?.....	70
7.2 Development in the Theory of Apology	73
7.2.1 Content of Apologies: On the Way of Finding a Taxonomy	74
7.2.2 The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) ..	76
7.2.3 The Effectiveness of Apologies	81
CHAPTER III	84
Research Design and Methodology	84
8. Scope of the Study	84
8.1 Research Questions	86
8.2 Method	86
8.3 Subjects	87
8.4 Data Elicitation Tools	87
8.5 The Apology Settings and Its Variables	88
8.6 Procedure	88
8.7 Data Analyses	89
8.8 Limitations of the Study	90
Chapter IV.....	91
Findings, Conclusions and Implications	91
9. Peculiarities and Special Aspects of the Findings in Turkish and German	92
9.1 The IFID ' <i>kusura bakma</i> ' in Turkish.....	92
9.2 Double Vous in Turkish.....	93
9.3 The particle ' <i>ya</i> ' in Turkish	93
9.4 {mIf} Marker	94
9.5 “Entschuldigung” and “Schuldigung”	95
9.6 “Ich entschuldige mich”, “entschuldige mich” and “Entschuldigen Sie” ..	95
9.7 “Es tut mir leid”, “Das tut mir leid” and “Tut mir leid”	95
10. Findings Concerning the ‘Jumping the Line’ Situation.....	97
10.1 Addressee: Same-Aged	97
10.1.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-S.Aged	97
10.1.2 Tu–Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-S.Aged ..	99
10.1.3 Findings Concerning the Intensification and Downgrading of IFID in JmpLne-S.Aged.....	100
10.1.4 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-S.Aged.....	101
10.1.5 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-S.Aged	104

10.1.6 Findings Concerning the ‘ <i>No Reaction</i> ’ Strategy in JmpLne-S.Aged.....	104
10.2 Addressee: Elderly person around sixty	105
10.2.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-ElderlyP	105
10.2.2 Tu–Vous Preference in JmpLne-ElderlyP	107
10.2.3 Alerters in JmpLne-ElderlyP	108
10.2.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of IFID in JmpLne-ElderlyP.....	110
10.2.5 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-ElderlyP	110
10.2.6 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-ElderlyP	113
10.2.7 Findings Concerning the ‘ <i>No Reaction</i> ’ Strategy in JmpLne-ElderlyP	113
10.3 Addressee: University Teacher	114
10.3.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	114
10.3.2 Tu-Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	116
10.3.3 The Alerters in JmpLne-UniTCH	117
10.3.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	117
10.3.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	118
10.3.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-UniTCH	119
10.3.7 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	121
10.3.8 Findings Concerning the ‘ <i>No Reaction</i> ’ Strategy in JmpLne-UniTCH.....	121
10.4 Addressee: Child at the age of ten	122
10.4.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-Chld	122
10.4.2 Tu-Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-Chld ..	124
10.4.3 Alerters in JmpLne-Chld.....	125
10.4.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in JmpLne-Chld.....	127
10.4.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of the IFID in JmpLne-Chld.....	128
10.4.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in JmpLne-Chld	129
10.4.7 Findings Concerning the Offer of Repair in JmpLne-Chld	130
10.4.8 Findings Concerning the Strategy ‘ <i>No Reaction</i> ’ in JmpLne-Chld.....	130

11. Findings Concerning the Situation ‘Ignoring’	131
11.1 Addressee: Same-aged colleague.....	131
11.1.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg	131
11.1.2 Tu- Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	133
11.1.3 Alerters in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	133
11.1.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	135
11.1.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	136
11.1.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	136
11.1.7 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg	137
11.1.8 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg.....	139
11.2 Addressee: Elderly colleague around sixty.....	140
11.2.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Elderly-Collg	140
11.2.2 Findings Concerning Tu-Vous Preference and Alerters in Ignr-Elderly-Collg.....	142
11.2.3 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Elderly-Collg.....	144
11.2.4 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Elderly-Collg.....	145
11.2.5 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Elderly-Collg	146
11.2.6 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-Elderly-Collg.....	148
11.3 Addressee: Your boss	150
11.3.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Boss	150
11.3.2 Tu and Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-Boss..	151
11.3.3 Alerters in Ignr-Boss	152
11.3.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Boss	153
11.3.5 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Boss....	153
11.3.6 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Boss	155
11.3.7 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-Boss ..	156
11.4 Addressee: Your student.....	158
11.4.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Stud.....	158
11.4.2 Tu and Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-Stud ..	159

11.4.3 Alerters in Ignr-Stud	160
11.4.4 Findings Concerning Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Stud ..	161
11.4.5 Findings Concerning Downgrading in Ignr-Stud.....	163
11.4.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Stud	163
11.4.7 Intensification and Mitigation in Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Stud	164
11.4.8 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Stud.....	166
11.4.9 Findings Concerning the ‘ <i>No Reaction</i> ’ Strategy in Ignr-Stud..	167
Chapter V	168
Summary and Discussion	168
12. An Overall Look at the Findings	168
12.1 General Discussions and Conclusions	169
13. Implications for Education	188
14. Suggestions for further Research	191
REFERENCES	193
APPENDIX A: Discourse Role Play Tasks	201
APPENDIX B: The Background Questionnaire.....	203
APPENDIX C: Apologizing Strategies according to the CCSARP Coding Manual	210
APPENDIX D: Intensification and Downgrading of the IFID	212
Appendix E: Coding Example	214
INDEX	215

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Practical Considerations for the Six Types of Tests by Brown (2001)	51
Table 2: Facework strategies according to Ting-Toomey (1998)	67
Table 3: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	98
Table 4: An Expression of an Apology in German	98
Table 5: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish	99
Table 6: An Expression of Regret in German	99
Table 7: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German ...	100
Table 8: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German	101
Table 9: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	103
Table 10: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	104
Table 11: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	105
Table 12: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	106
Table 13: An Expression of an Apology in German	106
Table 14: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German	106
Table 15: An Expression of Regret in German	107
Table 16: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German.	108
Table 17: Alerters in Turkish	109
Table 18: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German	110
Table 19. Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	112

Table 20: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	113
Table 21: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	114
Table 22: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	115
Table 23: An Expression of an Apology in German	115
Table 24: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German	115
Table 25: An Expression of Regret in German	116
Table 26: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German..	116
Table 27: Frequency of Alerters in Turkish and German	117
Table 28: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German	118
Table 29: Downgrading in Turkish and German	118
Table 30: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	120
Table 31: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	121
Table 32: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	122
Table 33: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	123
Table 34: An Expression of an Apology in German	123
Table 35: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German	123
Table 36: An Expression of Regret in German	124
Table 37: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German..	125
Table 38: Alerters in Turkish and German.....	126
Table 39: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German	127

Table 40: Frequency of Downgrading in Turkish and German	128
Table 41: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	129
Table 42: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	130
Table 43: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	130
Table 44: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	131
Table 45: An Expression of an Apology in German	132
Table 46: An Expression of Regret in German	132
Table 47: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German	132
Table 48: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German..	133
Table 49: Alerters in Turkish and German.....	134
Table 50: Intensification in Turkish and German	135
Table 51: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	137
Table 52: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	138
Table 53: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	139
Table 54: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	140
Table 55: An Expression of an Apology in German	141
Table 56: An Expression of Regret in German	141
Table 57: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish	141
Table 58: ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German.....	142
Table 59: Alerters in Turkish and German.....	143

Table 60: Intensification in Turkish and German	144
Table 61: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	146
Table 62: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	147
Table 63: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	149
Table 64: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	150
Table 65: An Expression of an Apology in German	150
Table 66: An Expression of Regret in German and Turkish.....	150
Table 67: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish.....	151
Table 68: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German..	151
Table 69: Alerters in Turkish and German.....	152
Table 70: Intensification in Turkish and German	153
Table 71: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	154
Table 72: Intensifiers and Mitigators in Justification	155
Table 73: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	156
Table 74: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	157
Table 75: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish.....	158
Table 76: An Expression of an Apology in German	158
Table 77: An Expression of Regret in German and Turkish.....	159
Table 78: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish.....	159
Table 79: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German.	160

Table 80: Alerters in Turkish and German.....	161
Table 81: Internal Intensification in Turkish and German.....	162
Table 82: External Intensification in Turkish and German.....	162
Table 83: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	164
Table 84: Intensifiers and Mitigators in Taking on Responsibility.....	165
Table 85: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German.....	166
Table 86: No Reactions in Turkish and German.....	167

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1: Order of Taking on Responsibility by Trosborg (1987)	80
Fig. 2: Effectiveness of Apologies according to Holtgraves	82
Fig. 3: Determinant Aspects for the Scope of Study	85
Fig. 4: IFIDs in Turkish and German	169
Fig. 5: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German	171
Fig. 6: Offer of Repair in the Situation <i>Jumping the Line</i>	173
Fig. 7: Offer of Repair in the Situation <i>Ignoring</i>	174
Fig. 8: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a same-aged Person	176
Fig. 9: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with an Elderly Person	177
Fig. 10: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a University Teacher	178
Fig. 11: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a Child	179
Fig. 12: Endearment Terms in the Interlocution with a Child	180
Fig. 13: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with an Elder Colleague	181
Fig. 14: Tu and Vous and Alerters in the Interlocution with the Boss	182
Fig. 15: Tu and Vous and Alerters in the Interlocution with the Student	183
Fig. 16: IFID Internal Intensification	184
Fig. 17: IFID Internal Intensification with ,ya‘	185
Fig. 18: Use of ya in terms of Addressees	186

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Study

Language teaching and learning is a field that has been capturing linguists' and educators' interest for many decades. With the notion of 'communicative competence', this field reached a turning point that shaped linguistic and educational approaches concerning language, language teaching and learning. Different views of communicative competence proposed by Hymes (1971) from the perspective of linguistic anthropology and by Habermas (1984) from the perspective of social philosophy provided the basis for the majority of the designs in communicative language teaching. The most influential model of communicative competence was produced by Canale and Swain (1980). They made a general distinction between grammatical (or grammar-based) and communicative (or communication-based) approaches to second language teaching. In their model they refer to the significance of the interaction between grammatical competence, or knowledge of the rules of grammar and sociolinguistic competence, and knowledge of language use. They actually present a model of knowledge into which sociolinguistic competence is added. Although the basis for a different approach to language teaching has been established, a concrete differentiation about what language teaching should actually convey while building up a 'complete' communicative competence was left out. Even in the expansion by Canale (1983) adding discourse competence as a further component, the importance as a distinctive aspect of communicative competence, the notion of *pragmatics* was still omitted. Hence, an important aspect of language teaching and learning has not been considered in this respect.

A decade later, an extension of the earlier models was generated by Bachman (1990, pp.87ff.). Unlike the earlier ones, Bachman clearly differentiates between what represents 'knowledge' and what represents a 'skill'. Moreover, in his model an attempt is made to 'characterize the process by which the various components interact with each other and with the context in which language use occurs' (Bachman, 1990:81). Bachman's model of Communicative Language Ability (CAL) comprises three components: Language competence (knowledge); strategic competence (the 'capacity for implementing the components of language competence in contextualized communicative language use' (ibid: 84)) and psychological mechanism which enables 'the actual execution of language as a physical phenomenon'. In his suggested model of CLA, pragmatic competence is not only included as one of the two components of "language competence" but also considers "sociolinguistic competence" and "illocutionary competence" under pragmatic competence. With this model an inclusion of pragmatics has been enabled and in a revision of this model by Bachman and Palmer (1996, pp.66ff.), the status of pragmatic ability (PA) has been preserved.

As defined by Kasper and Rose (2001:2) pragmatics is 'the study of communicative action in its sociocultural context.' They also stress the importance of the multidimensional construct of communicative action including both speech acts and the engagement in different types of discourse and participation in speech events of varying length and complexity. According to Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983), pragmatics has two main components: pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. *Pragmalinguistics* refers to 'the resources for conveying communicative acts and rational or interpersonal meanings' (Kasper and Rose, 2001:2). This component comprises pragmatic strategies such as directness and indirectness, routines and a large repertory of linguistic forms which can strengthen or mitigate communicative acts.

Sociopragmatics has been defined by Leech (1983:10) as “the sociological interface of pragmatics”. The decision to choose from available pragmalinguistics resources to index a different attitude or social relationship, for instance, shows the sociopragmatic side. Accordingly pragmatic competence is the knowledge of the above-mentioned aspects of language and evolves in the use of a variety of speech acts in a variety of situations including certain variables such as age, sex and power or the relation to the speaker. For instance, in a situation where *thanking* is performed as a speech act various forms and styles are possible as for example in English “ I appreciate it”, “thanks”, “thank you”, “thank you so much”, “ I am very glad that...”, in German “ danke”, “dankeschön”, “vielen Dank”, “danke recht herzlich” or in Turkish “ teşekkür ederim”, “teşekkür ediyorum”, “teşekkürler”, “çok teşekkür ederim”, “sağol”, “eyvallah”, “mersi” etc. These expressions represent the pragmalinguistic side of language use, and the knowledge of when to use what to whom is the sociopragmatic aspect.

Another explanation of the components of pragmatics was made by Thomas (1983). Thomas (1983) relates pragmalinguistics to grammar as it consists of linguistic forms and their relevant functions, whereas sociopragmatics is more about correct behaviour. In this regard, pragmatics should be seen as a challenge in terms of language teaching as also pointed out by Kasper and Rose (2001) “it is one thing to teach people what functions bits of language serve, but it is entirely different to teach people how to behave “properly””. Considering this notion, the basis for a new aspect of language teaching and learning was born, namely *pragmatic competence*. This notion becomes even more complex with respect to first and second language acquisition. In the light of this perspective, a multidimensional phenomenon arises out of the fusion of the pragmalinguistic and the sociopragmatic sides of at least two acquired languages which can be called *multilingual pragmatic competence*.

This study concentrates on this phenomenon by examining Turkish-German bilinguals' pragmatic competence, focusing on their use of *apologizing strategies* in both languages. The importance of this study lies in the fact that findings on the pragmatic competence of multilinguals can bring new insights into the methodology of first and second language education. The stress on *first* and *second* language is consciously made with respect to designing not only qualitative but also evolutionary language programs that can provide a fusion of all pragmatic competences that the acquired languages provide. Moreover, deficiencies that may occur in language use due to pragmatic failure can also be considered in the process of planning and designing programs.

Hence, the assumption that Turkish pupils and students are perceived as rather "impolite" by their teachers and professors, draws the focus of the study to the theoretical frame of politeness and the notion of face, and how the strategies used by them play a role in terms of appropriate language use. This perception of 'impoliteness' is also mentioned in a study on Turkish requests by Martı (2003). In her study Martı was motivated to elaborate the act of requesting by Turkish returnees to find out if they transfer certain politeness strategies of German into Turkish in order to explain the lay inference of "impoliteness".

The important connection between culture and language is a widely-known fact. It is also accepted that they cannot be separated and must be seen as a whole in terms of communication. Communication and culture equally influence each other. The culture in which individuals are socialized influences the way they communicate, and the way the individuals communicate can change the culture they share over time (Gudykunst, 1997:327). Following on from this view, one can assume that an individual living in one culture, but who is bilingual will transfer typical aspects of this culture to his/her other language and vice-versa. In fact, the main focus of the study arose around this idea. Does a Turkish-German bilingual apply aspects of the language and as a result the culture he/she lives, into the language he/she acquired in an ingroup? Or does he/she apply the characteristics he/she acquired in Turkish to German? The cultural variability in communication could also be a central key as to how to explain the deficiencies of Turkish-German bilinguals in terms of daily and

institutional communication. Therefore, it was also important for this study to take into account a cultural view in terms of analyzing the speech act usage. As it is impossible to investigate all speech acts, the researcher decided to choose one which to her knowledge has not been focus of any study in this direction and which is a product of a conflict situation: The act of remedying / apologizing.

On the theoretical base there is some vagueness about in which part of pragmatics aquisitional issues should be considered. In trying to build a theoretical base for such studies it is unavoidable to experience the typical problems of a very new field. *Interlanguage pragmatics* (ILP), for instance, is according to Blum-Kulka and Kasper (1993:3) “a second-generation hybrid.” In other words, it belongs to two different disciplines, both of which are interdisciplinary (ibid.3). The first discipline is the branch of Second Language Acquisition Research, in which ILP serves as a special area contrasting with interlanguage phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. The second discipline is the one of pragmatics and depending on how “pragmatics” is defined, ILP functions as a sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic or basically linguistic interdisciplinary field. In fact, in the definition of ILP, the focus of study has been on non-native speakers’ use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in the second language (L2). However, to reduce ILP’s research area to non-native speakers ‘may narrow its scope too restrictively’ (ibid.3). Bearing in mind the *intercultural style* hypothesis supported by many studies of cross-cultural communication, interactional sociolinguistics and research that focus on pragmatic behavior of immigrant populations across generations, ILP should also comprise speakers who are fully competent in speaking at least two languages. For instance, Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1991) illustrate through the case of American immigrants to Israel who are complete bilinguals, that they may generate an intercultural style of speaking. This style is both related to and distinct from the styles established in the two substrata, a style on which they rely aside from the language being used. Predominantly ILP refers to the comprehension and production of linguistic action, including discourse parameters. However, communication strategies are not included under ILP.

The division of pragmatics and communication strategies in second language studies reflects different positions chosen by researchers in each area. On the one hand, communication-strategy studies are positioned in psycholinguistic models of cognitive processing; on the other hand, ILP has been developed in the theory and empirical foundations of general and cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989). Hence, studies on communication strategies have inspected learner's solutions to referential problems; whereas ILP has had its focus on the illocutionary and politeness dimensions of speech act performance. Nonetheless, it is difficult to separate communication strategies from pragmatics, as studies in pragmatics need to be interdisciplinary because communication is a multifaceted field.

The perspective of how communication has been studied revealed such a division. However, to study the pragmatic competence is to demonstrate what communication strategies the interlocutor of a certain language applies on a certain cultural level, as it is certainly impossible to separate language from culture. Therefore, a differentiation of communication strategies and pragmatics does not seem to be appropriate. In other words to apply a communicative strategy is only possible with the needed pragmatic competence for a certain situation. Hence, in this study the focus for researching Turkish-German bilinguals' pragmatic competence, will be in its theory twofold. By demonstrating which strategies are applied, the study will be grounded in the theory of cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics to observe the illocutionary and politeness dimension of their speech act performance; by explaining these aspects, the linguistic competence with a focus on the phonological, syntactic, semantic and morphological features they use to apply pragmalinguistic aspects will automatically be stated.

The multidimensionality of studying pragmatic competence makes this field very exciting. For this study it is a challenge to identify the pragmatic competence of bilinguals concerning the realization of apologies in the context of native speakers' language usage to help enlighten this research area.

CHAPTER II

Review of Related Literature

This chapter reviews the theoretical frame of the present study. The first part of this chapter involves a definition of pragmatics made in order to enlighten the connection to the key concepts of the framework of analyses in connection with one of its central topics namely *speech act theory*, which will be elaborated in detail in the second part. The third part is dedicated to one of the parent disciplines called *cross-cultural pragmatics* highlighting the key concepts *culture, and universality*. The fourth part concentrates on *pragmatic competence*, and an evaluation of the ways of testing pragmatic competence. The notion of *pragmatic transfer* is discussed in section five as a subcategory of interlanguage pragmatics. Accordingly the theory of politeness with focus on face and facework is discussed in section six, which plays an important role in studies concerning cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics. Furthermore, politeness constitutes a central key for analyses for the sake of the speech act of apologizing which is the focus of this research. In the light of this, the propositions stated in the *face negotiation theory* will also be discussed in this study. The seventh part includes a review of the theory of apologizing, stating main research issues that have been implemented in this field to date. Amongst other taxonomies, a section is also dedicated to the *Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCRSP)* that is the most famous project being conducted in this field of research.

1. Pragmatics

1.1 Towards a Definition

The definition of pragmatics has raised a couple of discussions in recent years. It has not only been a rapidly growing field in contemporary linguistics, it has also been attractive for other disciplines like philosophy, anthropology, cognitive sciences, psychology, and semiotics.

Levinson (1983) has already declared that the definition of pragmatics is notoriously difficult to provide. As its name suggests, the definition of pragmatics should be a working definition. This view was put forward by Huang (2007) who defines pragmatics as “the systematic study of meaning by virtue of, or dependent on, the use of language (Huang, 2007:2).” As its central topics Huang (2007) states *implicature*, *presupposition*, *speech acts* and *deixis*. In literature we come across many discussions about whether pragmatics should be seen as a discipline on its own. In fact, these discussions arose from two different schools of thought in pragmatics: The Anglo-American one seeing pragmatics as a discipline in its own right and the European Continental one seeing pragmatics as a complementary field to other disciplines. Verschueren (1999:870), for instance, talks about pragmatics as a general functional perspective on (any aspect of) language, i.e. as an approach to language which takes into account the full complexity of its *cognitive, social, and cultural* (‘meaningful’) functioning in the lives of human beings. According to Verschueren, simply admitting the fact that pragmatics is nothing but a specific ‘perspective’ on language, would solve all the problems in defining and attempting to institutionalize pragmatics. Huang (2007), on the other hand, pleads for pragmatics to be handled as a core component of a theory of language by narrowing its focus in order to clear the confusion that pragmatics can be applied to every linguistic behavior, considering a wide range of perspectives.

Following the Anglo-American view creates a scope of discipline which is more coherent and systematic.

The origins of pragmatics lie in the philosophy of language. Within semiotics Morris (1938) proposed a threefold division into syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In this paradigm syntax is the study of the formal relation of one sign to another, semantics deals with the relation of signs to what they represent, and pragmatics addresses the relation of signs to their users and interpreters (Huang, 2007:2). The relation among the three was posited in terms of abstractness by Carnap (1942); with syntax being the most abstract, pragmatics the least abstract and semantics somewhere in between. Subsequently, syntax supplies input to semantics, which supplies input to pragmatics (Recanati, 2004b). Within the tradition of ordinary language philosophy Austin (1962) developed his theory of speech acts, and Grice¹ his theory of conversational implicature. These theories have since played a great role in the development of a systematic, philosophically inspired pragmatic theory of language use.

On the linguistic front, some of the disaffected pupils of Chomsky put forward an opposition to the view of language as an abstract mental device. Along with other generative semanticists Lakoff concentrated on the uses and functions of language. Consequently, important linguistic research was done in the 1970s. The publication of Stephen Levinson's textbook *Pragmatics* in 1983 systemized the field and marked the following era of pragmatics as a linguistic discipline itself.

In this discipline the main topics are *implicature*, *presupposition*, *speech acts* and *deixis*. For the present study, speech acts play an important role in terms of

¹ The ordinary language philosopher Paul Grice (1957) contributed to the speech act theory with his conception of speaker meaning, in which the attempt was to define the intention a speaker has while producing certain utterances. According to Grice, the intention of the speaker is preliminary to the sentence meaning and thereby has an effect on the hearer. Thereinafter, Grice postulated the notion of conversational implicature (1975). This notion was used in the theory of speech acts in order to explain the hearer's understanding of it on the basis of inferences.

cross-cultural pragmatics. Therefore, the theory of speech acts and their link to cross-cultural pragmatic research will be elaborated in detail.

2. Speech Acts

Actually having its roots in the science of philosophy, speech act theory shaped the basis for most of the empirical pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic studies. With the help of speech acts, linguists have been able to study the universality of acts in certain situations bound to cultural, individual and speech act specific variables. In view of the fact that the goal of the current thesis is the inspection of one particular speech act - namely *apology* - in the bilingual Turkish-German context, the main assumptions of speech act theory are initiated in this section.

2.1 Performatives versus Constatives

In the 1930s, a very significant school of thought in philosophy called *logical positivism* was built up by a group of philosophers and mathematicians who were mainly settled in Vienna. One of the main doctrines of logical positivism is the aspect of *descriptive fallacy*; in other words, the view that a language's central function is to produce true or false statements. Another version of this view is the so called *verificationist thesis* of meaning. In this theory the idea is that unless a sentence can be tested for its truth or falsity it is stated to be meaningless.

On this basis, sentences that state subjective judgments as in (1.2.1) are meaningless, as they are not used to formulate verifiable or falsifiable propositions.

(1.2.1)

- a. Grapes are more delicious than oranges.
- b. Travelling is the best way of learning.
- c. Green is the nicest color of all.

In contrast, Austin (1962) generated his theory of speech acts in order to show that there are sentences in ordinary language that are not uttered to make a statement and that cannot be said to be true or false. In other words, according to him language functions not only to generate utterances but bears a more complex nature. Looking at the sentences in 1.2.2, it is quite obvious that these are not only statements and cannot be categorised as true or false.

(1.2.2)

- a. Hello!
- b. Can you help me?
- c. Give me the paper, please.

Furthermore, Austin (1962) observed that there are ordinary language declarative sentences the point of which is not to say things, but actively to do things. These utterances have both a descriptive and an effective aspect, which accordingly called *performatives*. Austin differentiated performatives from those utterances that make statements or assertions, which he called *constatives*. In Austin's view of speech act theory a preliminary distinction was made between performatives and constatives. The former consist of utterances that are performed to do things or to perform acts (1.2.3) and the latter stand for utterances that are carried out to make assertions or statements (1.2.4).

(1.2.3)

- a. I apologize for being late.
- b. I promise to pay the money back.
- c. I sentence you to five years in prison.

(1.2.4)

1. My daughter loves chocolate.
2. It is foggy outside.
3. John drank five glasses of beer yesterday.

2.2 Austin's Locutionary, Illocutionary and Perlocutionary Acts

The main distinction that Austin has made in his argument about language was that every utterance has both a descriptive and an effective aspect. In other words saying something is also doing something. Following his initial distinction of performatives and constatives, Austin enlarged his view of acts via a threefold distinction, namely, *locutionary*, *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* acts with a range of utterances of performatives and constatives.

According to Austin, *locutionary acts* are direct acts of speaking which use the constructs and words of a particular language by obeying the rules of that language system to make certain references or certain senses. *Illocutionary acts*, on the other hand, are acts produced in speaking. Accordingly, Austin states that acts of stating or asserting, which are most probably illocutionary acts, are typical of the use of canonical constatives and such utterances are presumably not performatives. Moreover, acts of ordering or requesting are naturally carried out by using imperatives, and acts of asking whether something is the case are accurately carried out by using interrogatives. Consequently, such utterances are to be questioned as to whether they are suitable examples of performatives. In fact, in Austin's Lecture XXI, he concludes that locutionary acts can be categorized as constatives whereas in the case of performative acts, they are categorized as possibly being illocutionary acts. *Perlocutionary acts* are performed by speaking. These acts have certain effects on the addressees' thoughts, feelings or actions. In other words, in making an utterance, we not only say something about the world (locution), but

we also perform an act (illocution) which we intend to have an effect on our interlocutor (perlocution). The illocutionary act is the principal focus of speech act theory. In addition, Searle (1969:66) also put forward that there are certain conditions, constitutive rules of a speech act, called *felicity conditions*, which must be met if an act is to be performed. These, like other types of illocutionary force indicating device, facilitate in identifying the particular speech act in question. Regardless of these means, however, an illocution is not always felicitous and similarly, a perlocution not always successful. A classification of how many speech acts actually exist was made both by Austin and Searle². Searle's taxonomy is still the most widely accepted one of speech acts. In his taxonomy there are five types of speech acts: *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives* and *declarations*.

Representatives express the speaker's belief. The speaker commits him/herself to the belief that the propositional content of the utterance is true.

E.g. It was a very effective conference.

Directives express the speaker's desire. The speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something.

E.g. Clean your room, please.

Commissives express the speaker's purpose. The speaker commits him/herself to a future course of action.

E.g. I promise to clean my room today.

Expressives express the speaker's emotion. The speaker expresses his/her psychological attitude towards some prior action or state of affairs.

E.g. I feel sorry for it.

² In his book *Speech Acts*, Searle (1969) takes off to combine the elements which are required to set up the rules for performing an act in order to give an account of the 'illocutionary acts', which Austin had introduced in *How To Do Things with Words*.

Declarations do not express psychological state and rely on extralinguistic institutions. The speaker brings about a correspondence between the propositional content and the world, which is actually institutionally bound.

E.g. There will be no classes tomorrow!

This classification illustrates the general functions performed by speech acts.

2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Another classification of speech acts is related to whether they are *direct* or *indirect* speech acts. In the case of direct speech acts there is a direct match between a clause type and an illocutionary force including explicit performatives. In the case of indirect speech acts, however, there is no direct match to the clause type and the illocutionary force. In other words direct speech acts can be defined as acts in which "...the speaker says what he means...", whereas indirect speech acts entail acts in which the speaker "means something more than what he says" (Searle et al. 1980). Indirect speech acts are generally considered to be more polite than direct ones. In the case of an utterance like, "Can you lend me any money?", for instance, two acts are realized - the direct question concerning the hearer's ability to lend the money; the indirect one a request for lending money. The use of indirect speech acts is not rare or marginal and is employed so often that little inferencing is needed to establish the underlying intention. Such speech acts are called *conventionally indirect speech acts* such as; *can you help me?* These kinds of speech acts must be distinguished from those which need some inferencing, which are called *non-conventionally indirect speech acts* or *hints*:

A: Let's go to the pub tonight.

B: I have to visit my mum.

In the answer B to the offer made by A, we obviously see an utterance which can be inferred as a rejection, although it is a simply made statement. Searle (1975) discusses this phenomenon in his article 'Indirect Speech Acts' and questions how it is possible for the hearer (A) *to intend or mean the utterance of (B) as a rejection of the proposal* (Searle, 1975: 62). There is certainly a second illocutionary act that is not literal and needs more inferencing than conventionally indirect speech acts in which both the literal and the nonliteral meaning or in other words the intention is quite obvious.

This approach proposed by Searle (1975) for analyzing indirect speech acts supposes the existence of a dual illocutionary force. Taking this view an indirect speech act has two illocutionary forces: one literal or direct and the other non-literal or indirect. The literal force is seen as secondary; whereas, the nonliteral force is seen as primary. According to Searle, the *felicity conditions*³ determine if an utterance functions as an indirect speech act. Let us take a look at the following utterances;

(1.2.5)

Can you open the door?

(1.2.6)

Water boils at 100°.

³ Felicity conditions determine if a speech act is successful or not. A speech act is declared infelicitous when it is illogical, e.g. I promise to study last December; requirements are not met, e.g. I will buy you a palace, darling; it is a lie, e.g. I really cannot lend you any money.

According to Searle's approach (1.2.5) would operate both as a direct and indirect speech act because the felicity conditions for the speech act of questioning are violated as it also functions as a speech act for requesting, whereas in (1.2.6) the felicity conditions for an indirect speech act are irrelevant.

Searle also states that in the performance and understanding of a speech act is a certain degree of inference. Accordingly the next question that arises would be how to figure this inference. As a suggestion to this problem, Searle points to the cooperative model of communication (Grice, 1975). The fact that there is also a convention in performing an indirect speech act is shown by the following example:

(1.2.7)

- a. Can you open the door?
- b. Do you have the ability to open the door?

(German)

- c. Kannst du die Tür aufmachen?
- d. Hast du die Fähigkeit die Tür aufzumachen?

(Turkish)

- e. Kapıyı açabilir misin?
- f. Kapıyı açabilme yeteneğine sahip misin?

Taking Searle's analysis both (1.2.7a) and (1.2.7b) fulfill the felicity conditions of an indirect request as they are basically synonymous, however, the fact that there is a certain degree of conventionality of indirect speech acts, makes this expectation unfulfilled. Out of this view Morgan (1978) developed in the present approach the notion of *short-circuited implicature* to include inferences as in cases like (1.2.7). The formula that is applied in this analysis is the insertion of *bitte* for German, *please* for English and *lütfe*n for Turkish in the example above.

It is observed that the insertion of *please* in these languages is not possible in the second case, which does not imply the convention of making an indirect request.

(1.2.8)

- a. I request that you please open the door.
- b. Can you please open the door?
- c.? Do you have the ability to please open the door?

(German)

- d. Ich bitte dich die Tür bitte aufzumachen.
- e. Kannst du die Tür bitte aufmachen?
- f.? Hast du die Fähigkeit die Tür bitte aufzumachen?

(Turkish)

- g. Kapıyı açmanı rica ediyorum lütfen.
- h. Kapıyı açabilir misin lütfen?
- i.? Kapıyı açabilme yeteneğine sahip misin lütfen?

As the speech act of requesting in (1.2.8a), (1.2.8.d) and (1.2.8.g) is performed directly, the conventionality pointed out by the use of *please* in the English, German and Turkish utterances is one of meaning, whereas, the conventionality pointed out in (1.2.8b), (1.2.8e) and (1.2.8.h) is one of usage, and therefore evidences an indirect speech act.

The second approach for analyzing an indirect speech act is the one proposed by Gordon and Lakoff (1975). According to their analyses there are certain rules for inferencing called *conversational postulates* which decrease the amount of inference required to infer an indirect speech act. In this case the interpretation of the speaker is in the center of meaning. In other words, the speaker identifies with his/her intention what speech act he/she produces. Hence, if the interpretation of the utterance (1.2.9b) illustrated below, cannot be intended as a question by the speaker, subsequently, the utterance will be comprehended as being the same as in (1.2.9a), thus performing an utterance that is an indirect speech act of requesting.

(1.2.9)

a. I request that you open the door.

b. Can you open the door?

As is seen from the example this approach is quite close to the approach by Searle, whereas the difference lies in the degree of inferencing and conventionality.

A different approach in contrast to the already mentioned inferential models is the so-called *idiom model* put forward by Sadock (1974). According to this model, sentences like (1.2.9b) are semantically ambiguous, thus the request interpretation comprises a speech act idiom that does not entail any inferencing. This way of analyses also bears some problems that have to be mentioned. Firstly 'it fails to capture the fact that the meaning of an indirect speech act can frequently (at least in part) be derived from the meaning of its

components (Huang, 2007:114)'. Another fact stressed by Huang is the comparability of these 'would-be idioms' concerning cross-linguistic issues.

In terms of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic studies, the question as to why people feel the need to use indirect speech acts is answered with the phenomenon of *politeness* and *facework* issues.

2.4 Speech Acts and Rules: Felicity Conditions

In realizing a speech act there are constitutive rules that have to be met. In other words, whenever an illocutionary speech act is performed, a set of rules must be pursued. These rules are formulated by Searle (1969:54-71) and are termed as felicity conditions, which include: *essential conditions*, which state what kind of illocutionary act the utterance is to count as; *propositional content conditions*, which specify contextual requirements, in this sense meaning the speaker's and the hearer's epistemic and volitional state. The last but not least condition is the one of *sincerity*, indicating which psychological state of the speaker will be stated by the speech act. For the appropriate use of the illocutionary force indicating devices, a set of semantic rules can be drawn from the felicity conditions in terms of illocutionary acts. The appropriate use is dependent on the felicity conditions of the illocutionary act. The illocutionary effect is achieved when the felicity conditions are satisfied and the speaker uses the needed linguistic devices that express the related illocutionary force in normal communication circumstances

2.5 Implementation of Speech Acts in Empirical Studies

As regards empirical studies in interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics that focus on speech acts, there are some issues which are critical in terms of their usefulness and the theory itself. In this section some of these critical issues will be revealed.

Taking the conceptual framework of speech acts into account, the first phenomena that have to be discussed are the so called illocutionary force indicating devices. For the sake of the force, the illocutionary act has to be perceived and understood by the hearer. To make this possible there must be methods with which the speakers make explicit or at some point imply the illocutionary force of their speech acts. Mainly, speech act theorists have defended the idea that there is a need for an explicit performative formula, for instance, a performative verb in the first person present indicative active, to achieve a fully explicit illocutionary force. This widely-accepted belief (Austin 1962:61, 71) raises some questions that need to be discussed. These questions are listed by Sbisá (2009:235). The first question refers to how performative utterances really work. The second one is about how the illocutionary force of speech acts is indicated when no explicit performative formula is used and last but not least refers to how explicit and implicit ways of performing the same illocutionary act are related to each other (ibid.235).

Regarding the first question, many discussions about what the performative utterance is, mostly on a philosophical base aiming at the truth-value or the relation between successfulness and truth have been put forward (Leech, 1983 et al.). As to the second question, Austin (1962:73-76) stated a range of illocutionary indicators. His list comprises mood and modal verbs, intonation, adverbs, connectives and extra-linguistic gestures or contextual features accompanying the utterance. It was Searle who stressed the importance of linguistic illocutionary indicators and the opportunity for a substitution of explicit forms with implicit forms. Despite the fact that mood or sentence type is mostly taken as the main illocutionary indicator, empirical linguistic studies that concentrate on the use of various speech acts and their different use in

different cultures, have widened the range of illocutionary indicators. Contrary to the idea that in each sentence there is only one illocutionary indicator and that this indicator does not have an innate semantic content, Green (2000) argues that expressions having semantic content on their own can act as illocutionary indicators. Sbisá (2001) supports this idea in arguing that a combination of features may also show an indication of force.

With reference to the third question an arguable answer to it is that it is the 'performative hypothesis', stating that in the deep structure of any sentence there is a higher explicit performative (Ross, 1970). Developing its framework in the generative grammar, this hypothesis was criticized and discarded (Sbisá, 2009:236). Latest research concentrates on scales from most direct to most indirect ways of performing illocutionary acts (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989 et al.).

Another problematic area of speech act theory is the classification of illocutionary acts. Many classification attempts in looking for types, kinds, or groups of illocutionary acts have been made by many researchers in this area. Austin's attempt to classify illocutionary acts allows many overlaps and is therefore unclear. However, the most accepted classification of Searle is made in the light of the following criteria which cover three dimensions of the illocutionary act:

- The point or purpose of the act, expressed in its essential condition;
- The direction of fit, i.e. whether the words (or more precisely, the details of their truth-conditional meaning or expressed propositional content) have to match the world, or the world has to match the words;

- The expressed psychological states, i.e. the speaker's psychological attitudes with respect to the propositional content, which satisfy the sincerity condition of the illocutionary act (Searle, 1979:2-5).

Searle also linked each of his classes to a standard deep structure of the sentences used (1979:20-27). Reformulations or refinements of Austin's or Searle's classification exist; however, Searle's classification still remains the most effective and influential one taken as a basis for further research of related areas.

There are further discussions about the modes of understanding concerning illocutionary forces. The main issue is whether illocutionary forces are understood by virtue of the semantics of their linguistic indicators or with the aid of pragmatically invited inferences. When it comes to the position of illocutionary force, it is not clear whether it is semantics or pragmatics that determines the content. Considering the illocutionary force as a purely semantic phenomenon completely dependent on the codified meaning of words is only possible by connecting illocutionary forces to speech acts on the sole foundation of the linguistic indicating device or set of indicating devices. However, one has to admit that this is not the case. The felicitous performance of an act is not only determined by clear-cut indicators of an uttered sentence. One cannot see an indicator as fully pragmatic, which would be a minimization of the role of linguistic illocutionary indicators. The suggestion to accept direct and indirect modes of understanding has already been made in the light of the previous mentioned direct and indirect speech acts (section 1.2.3).

In the light of politeness phenomena, strategies for performing indirect speech acts have been elaborated in terms of different socio-cultural environments (Blum-Kulka 1989 et.al.). It must be borne in mind that the phenomena of indirect speech acts rely on Grice's theory of implicature. In this sense this notion is likely to be declined by those who do not acknowledge the theory. Indirect speech acts may then be traced back again to some kind of convention, script or schema (Sbisá, 2009:238).

Speech acts as units of analysis in empirical studies in which they proved their usefulness, still receive some criticism that should be mentioned. Barron (2003) states that the interactional aspects are mostly neglected as in speech act theory the hearer is seen as playing a passive role. So speech act theory does not really consider what actually happens in conversation, as it is primarily speaker-oriented. Another problem Barron (2003) mentions is the lack of concern for paralinguistic and non-verbal aspects of language. She also stresses that the claim that indirect speech acts are universal based on the fact that they are built on universal felicity conditions has been debated a lot due to cross-cultural findings. Nonetheless, she continues and draws attention to the fact that the speech act is still suited to study of language in use, though it has limitations regarding lack of reference to the wider discourse context.

Some of the problematic issues mentioned above have been tried to be solved in this study. For instance, the lack of paralinguistic and non-verbal data has been recognized by transcribing non-verbal data which was gained through video-recording. Such data has been considered and collected when observed to be functioning as strategies in terms of the apologizing speech act. The problem of the passivity of the hearer in speech act theory could be minimized since apologies are actually seen as reactions to a broken norm.

3. Cross-Cultural Pragmatics

Pragmatics, “the study of language from the point of view of users, especially the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants” is seen as a significant aspect of communicative competence (Crystal, 1997:301). Precedent studies focused on merely sociocultural competence, the ability to use target language knowledge in communicative situations (Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Hymes, 1974), without concentrating on distinctive features. The problem in measuring language ability lies in the relation of form and function in language (Coulmas, 1980). The knowledge of how to say something pointing to the form of the language does not naturally mean that the knowledge of when and to whom in a certain context pointing to the function, exists. However, these features are not separable. The ability to use the appropriate sociocultural rules of speaking which is connected to the ability to react in a culturally acceptable way in a certain context and to choose stylistically appropriate forms (Cohen and Olshtain, 2006) show the distinctiveness which is provided by Harlow (1990) as the interdependent relation between linguistic forms and sociocultural contexts namely sociopragmatics.

Speech acts (Austin 1962) capture an essential aspect of language use: the fact that an utterance, which expresses some propositional content, may at the same time count as the performance of a communicative act (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). For instance, a wife telling her husband, “You are too fast”, while he is driving the car, states on the one hand that he is actually driving fast but on the other hand performs a directive telling the husband to drive slower. The same utterance, “You are too fast”, uttered by a girl to a boy’s proposal to marry her, can be intended as a rejection of the proposal. The performance of the speech act, thus, depends on the context within which the utterance takes place, the context consisting of all the related information regarding the interlocutors, and the temporal and spatial constraints of the speech event. These features of speech acts serve as appropriate material in terms of cross-cultural, intercultural and intracultural pragmatics.

In carrying out cross-cultural speech act studies Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) mention three types of variability that cause diversity of speech act realizations:

a) ***Intracultural variability*** denotes the diversity within the same culture which results from situational and social parameters such as relative power, distance and degree of imposition. Power (P) is a social parameter referring to the degree to which the speaker (S), participating in the interaction can impose his/her plans at the expense of his/her interlocutor's plans. (P) according to Brown and Levinson (1978) should be seen as an integral part of a role set. (P) is also context dependent. For instance, a university professor and his/her student going to the same gym might be seen as equals when interacting in matters regarding the courses they attend at the gym, although in a society a university professor may be perceived as having slightly higher status than a student. The degree of (P) is culture dependent; certain social roles may be perceived having high (P), whereas in the same situation in another culture the degree of (P) may be lower. Another micro-social variable that is significant when deciding on a realization pattern, is the degree of familiarity or distance (D) between the interlocutors. Acquaintances will use different realizations than friends who know each other very well. Again, cultures vary in to what extent (D) is important in uttering a speech act. The last but not least variable affecting the speech act utterance is referred to as imposition (R). Brown and Levinson (1987) mention the notion of imposition in terms of their politeness theory and state that some speech acts might place high imposition on the hearer so that S will probably choose a more polite version of that act in order to mitigate the speech act, and in cases where (R) is low S might prefer to utter a more conventional realization of that certain act. As for the other parameters, the degree of (R) may change from culture to culture.

b) ***Cross-cultural variability*** is caused by the various roles that situational and social parameters play in different cultures. Hence, it is important in a language learning context that these parameters and their degree in the target language are considered as well.

c) ***Individual variability*** is linked to different choices resulting from personal factors such as age, sex and level of linguistic competence.

It must be borne in mind that cross-cultural pragmatics plays an important role in the field of contrastive linguistic studies. According to House–Edmondson (1986:282):

Cross-cultural pragmatics is a field of inquiry which compares the ways in which two or more languages are used in communication. Cross-cultural pragmatics is an important new branch of contrastive linguistic studies because in any two languages different features of the social context may be found to be relevant in deciding what can be expressed and how it is conventionally expressed.

For the sake of understanding the role of culture and how it is studied in the scope of pragmatics, the notion of culture will be discussed in the following section.

3.1 Culture

The notion of culture is a very complex phenomenon. There are many ways to define culture, and each definition bears a component of culture in it with regard to how the focus is positioned. When attempting to define culture, one of the focuses is to connect it directly to mankind's existence. As Brown (1994) states:

Culture is a way of life. Culture is the context within which we exist, think, feel and relate to others. It is the "glue" that binds a group of people together (Brown, 1994:163).

Triandis (1994) has a more sociological view stating that culture is to society what memory is to individuals (Triandis, 1994:1). By this definition, Triandis stresses the importance of the past of a certain society that learned from its positive or negative experiences. "... culture includes traditions that tell "what has worked" in the past" (ibid: 1). Culture can also be seen as including everything that is human made (Herskovits, 1955), or as a system of all meanings (Geertz, 1973). Furthermore, culture has also been associated with communication. Edward T. Hall (1959), for instance, supports the belief that culture is communication and communication is culture. One has to accept that culture is a vague notion and despite the lack of transparency, researchers of this field agree on the set of aspects mentioned above, namely that culture is man-made and therefore a learnable notion; is related to groups and not individuals and is found in symbols and action.

With respect to the present study, culture is seen as a confluent element regarding language. This bond of culture and language plays an important role. Whenever a language is learned, it is inevitable to learn about the cultural distinctiveness of the speech community in question. Under these aspects, language is seen as a tool for social interaction. In fact, one cannot overlook the importance of cultural distinctiveness considering L2 in both learning and acquiring conditions. All told, in acquiring and using another language the learner crosses the threshold of another way of life that also has to be acquired

or learned in order to avoid misunderstandings or even culture shock, which, regarding cross-cultural pragmatics, has to be included as a component of pragmatic competence.

3.2 Universality and Cultural Specific Issues in Pragmatics

One hotly discussed topic about pragmatics is the question as to whether pragmatic issues are universal or cultural specific (cf, e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1991, Blum-Kulka et al. 1989a: 8ff, Wierzbicka, 1991:67ff, M.-C. Yu, 1999). The answer to this question has an important place in language learning and teaching issues, since universality would entail a smaller learning and teaching load in terms of pragmatic concerns. Barron (2003) mentions two central issues which constitute the focus of the discussions as to whether pragmatics is universal or not:

a. The universality of speech acts and of the strategies and linguistic means available for realizing speech acts and *b.* the universality of theoretical frameworks. In this section a discussion of the first matter about whether the realization of speech acts with the intended strategies and needed linguistic means is a universal phenomenon will be discussed. Concerns relating to the second issue are closely related to the concept of *politeness* and *face* which will be elaborated in detail in part six.

Among the upholders of the universal viewpoint Fraser/Nolen (1981) and Searle (1969) claim that the realization of speech acts must be seen as a universal issue. Searle supports this view in relation to the felicity conditions which constitute the basis for the production of an indirect speech act, claiming them to be universal, thus the strategies that are produced are universal too. Fraser/Nolen (1981) go a step further and conclude out of their empirical research that not only are the realization strategies for requests universal but also the ranking of deference level of them.

Empirical research has shown that there are definitely certain areas in the realization of speech acts which contain universal components. This fact is especially vital for the assisting of the acquisition of L2 pragmatic competence. The areas in which universality has been proven empirically are; the existence of inference and of indirect speech act realizations (cf. Blum-Kulka 1989, 1991:255), the use of pragmatic routines (cf. Coulmas 1981), the ability to vary linguistic realizations based on the contextual constellation of a given situation (cf. Blum-Kulka 1991:255 *passim*), a sensitivity to the importance of contextual variables (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987), the basic speech act categories (cf. Kasper/Schmidt 1996:154), external and internal modification (cf. Blum-Kulka 1991:261) and also the broad range of realization strategies for speech acts, such as apologies and requests (cf. Blum-Kulka 1989, Kasper 1992:211, Olshtain 1989).

Areas of cross-cultural variation, on the other hand, include the different weighting of specific contextual factors across cultures (Barron, 2003). These variations arise out of situational and social parameters that cause variability in the same culture. These parameters are *power*, *distance* and *degree of imposition*. Thus, cross-cultural variability is caused by the various roles that situational and social parameters play in different cultures. Hence, it is important in a language-learning context that the particular parameters and their degree in the target language are considered as well. Being central to several research projects, it has been found, for instance, that status is more important to the Japanese than to the Americans (cf. Takahashi/Beebe 1993). Moreover, it gives the impression that some speech acts, for instance declarations, are culture-bound due to cross-cultural differences in institutional structures (cf. Kasper & Schmidt 1996: 154) and, as Schmidt/ Richards (1980: 138) propose there may also be differences in illocutionary force within the broad categories of illocutionary point. However, there is still need for further research in this area.

Some findings in cross-cultural research show that there are also differences in pragmalinguistic conventions. Thus an ability question in English, Turkish or German as illustrated in 1.2.7, (p.33) can stand for a conventionalized request.

However, Wierzbicka's findings (1985) show that this is not the case in Polish, which would prove the non-universality of such usages. Moreover, this finding evidences the contrary of what was proposed by Searle (1975) in terms of the universality of speech acts in relation to felicity conditions. There are certain cultures in which some speech acts are used in the place of others. For instance, Holmes/Brown' (1987) finding shows that complimenting is a conventional request strategy in cultures, such as the Samoan culture but not; however, in most European countries. These kind of cross-cultural variations are seen as a reason for conflicts in communication due to negative stereotypes. This view is supported by Blum-Kulka and Thomas. Moreover, Thomas (1983:107) sees every conflict as a result of negative stereotypes as an issue that should be solved by a pragmaticist or discourse analyst. In terms of language learning, such differences in pragmatic norms play a crucial role for the learner him/herself. Kasper & Schmidt (1996: 155) stress the fact:

Whereas learners may hesitate to transfer strategies that may be universal in some cases, a more common problem is that they assume universality (and transferability) when it is not present.

On behalf of the research questions of the present study, the concept of transfer plays a crucial role as bilingual pragmatic competence would entail the ability to differentiate between transferable universal strategies and those which are not. We assume that the higher the bilingual or multilingual pragmatic competence the higher the ability to possess the awareness of such a distinction. In the following section the phenomenon of pragmatic competence and the ways of testing it will be reviewed.

4. Pragmatic Competence

4.1 Towards a Definition

In her article “The other side of language: Pragmatic Competence”, Paradis (1998) states the significance of involving right-hemisphere based pragmatic competence, as language pathology has traditionally only been concerned with deficits in left-hemisphere-based linguistic competence, namely in phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, which is not sufficient for normal verbal communication. She also states that by concentrating only on left-hemisphere based pathology, an important part of communication is left out. However, how can pragmatic competence be defined? As mentioned before, taking speech acts as the central focus of pragmatic research, Barron (2003) defines pragmatic competence as “knowledge of the linguistic resources available in a given language for realizing particular illocutions, knowledge of the sequential aspects of speech acts and finally, knowledge of the appropriate contextual use of the particular languages’ linguistic resources” (ibid.10). As revealed before, there are two important aspects concerning pragmatic competence; the *pragmalinguistic* side and the *sociopragmatic* side. Barron (2003) states that the definition put forward by her, sees pragmatic competence as consisting of knowledge components, pointing to the differentiation made by Bachman (1990) and Bachman/Palmer (1996) namely between *knowledge* and *ability* and Faerch/Kasper’s differentiation between *declarative* and *procedural* knowledge.

As far as pragmatic competence in cross-cultural studies is concerned, methods of testing and evaluating it have been developed for empirical researching purposes. The following is an overview of the most applied instruments that have been adopted in this field.

4.2 Ways of Testing Pragmatic Competence

There are many data-collection instruments which serve the sociolinguistic researcher either for cross-cultural or interlanguage pragmatic research. The following is a summary of possible ways to test pragmatic competence, showing their advantages and disadvantages. The ideal data for speech act analysis would be the kind collected via ethnographic means. It is obviously the most authentic technique; however, logistically it would be very difficult to accumulate sets of data of this sort (Aston, 1995), thus alternate means of collecting data have been developed. Researchers have tested pragmatics using six types of instruments: The written discourse completion tasks, the multiple-choice discourse completion tasks, the oral discourse completion tasks, the discourse role play tasks, the discourse self-assessment tasks and the role-play self-assessments (Brown, 2001). These instruments and their key benefits are explained below:

A written discourse completion task (WDCT) is any tool that requires the students to read a written description of a situation which includes factors such as setting, interlocutor roles, and degree of imposition, and asks them to write what they would say in that situation.

A multiple-choice discourse completion task (MDCT) is also a tool that is used to assess sociopragmatic competence; however, unlike in a WDCT, in a MDCT the students are asked to select the answer they would prefer in that situation after reading a written description.

An oral discourse completion task (ODCT) is an assessment tool that requires the students to listen to a description of a situation and to say aloud what they would say in that situation. The answers are usually recorded on a tape recorder.

A discourse role-play task (DRPT) is a kind of assessment tool that supplies a sketch of a situation and asks the students to play a particular role with another person in that situation.

A discourse self-assessment task (DSAT) is any tool that supplies a written sketch of a situation and asks the students to rate their own ability to perform the pragmatic competence that is required in that situation.

A role-play self-assessment (RPSA) is any tool that combines the DRPT with DSAT by requiring students to rate their own pragmatic performance in a previously performed role-play that was recorded on a video camera.

Brown (2001) in his study used all these six tools to find out, among other purposes, the differences in practicality these tests entail. His results show that all tests have their advantages and disadvantages in terms of practical considerations. According to him a WDCT is practical in administration, but does not; however, deliver oral language output. The same is also true of the MDCT. The ODCCT and DRPT, on the other hand, encourage oral production, but are very time consuming, as they deliver output on an individual level, which must be recorded individually. The DSAT and the RPSA serve for encouraging self-reflection, but are not suitable for cases in which the decisions potentially may have an effect on the subjects. Brown (2001) presents a table, outlining the advantages and disadvantages of all these tests which is illustrated below:

Table 1: Practical Considerations for the Six Types of Tests by Brown (2001)

<u>Type of Test</u>	<u>Advantages</u>	<u>Disadvantages</u>
WDCT	Easy to administer because paper-and-pencil	Written receptive and productive language only; does not encourage oral production or self reflection ; difficult to score because it requires recruiting, training, scheduling, and paying raters
MDCT	Easy to administer because paper-and-pencil, easy to score	Written receptive language only; does not encourage oral production or self-reflection
ODCT	Encourages oral production; relatively quick to administer	Relatively difficult to administer because it requires two audiocassette recorders; difficult to score because it requires recruiting , training ,scheduling and paying raters
DRPT	Encourages oral production; relatively quick to administer	Difficult to administer because it must be administered individually using video equipment and an interlocutor; difficult to score because it requires recruiting, training, scheduling and paying raters
DSAT	Encourages self-reflection; easy to administer because relatively quick and paper-and-pencil; easy to score	Not suitable for high-stakes decisions
RPSA	Encourages self-reflection; easy to score	Relatively difficult to administer because it must be administered individually using video equipment; not suitable for high-stake decisions

To conclude it can be said that speech acts / pragmatic competence can be assessed in many ways, the decision to choose the appropriate method is dependent on the research question. As Jucker (2009) states:

The ideal research method for the investigation of speech acts (...) does not exist. There is not even a method that is in general way better than all others (Jucker, 2009:1633).

With respect to this study and its research questions, a DRPT (discourse role play test) has been designed. For retaining purposes, video-recording has been used during the test. With the aid of this method the inclusion of paralinguistic elements that have not been considered in previous empirical research examining apologies has been enabled. This tool and its application will be elaborated in detail in section 8.4, (p.87).

5. Interlanguage Pragmatics

As its name suggests, interlanguage pragmatics is ‘the branch of second language research which studies how non-native speakers (NNS) understand and carry out linguistic action in a target language, and how they acquire L2 pragmatic knowledge’ (Kasper, 1990). This definition by Kasper leaves out the fact that speakers of at least two languages at an advanced level, or rather speakers who have acquired at least two languages, cannot be seen any longer as non-natives of their L2, but, may still be affected by their L1 and L2 in both directions in terms of carrying out linguistic action and performing their pragmatic knowledge. For this reason, interlanguage pragmatics’ definition should be widened in its scope taking into consideration that when speaking of bilinguals, the description “non-native” does not comprise all L1 and L2 users. This perspective is crucial for the sake of this study which has its focus on Turkish-German bilinguals and how they carry out their pragmatic knowledge and/or competence in both languages. Subsequently, we consider interlanguage pragmatics in a broader sense including speakers that acquired more than one language. Accordingly we consider multilingual pragmatic competence as a notion that has to be taken and examined under this branch. The potential transfer regarding bilingual/multilingual pragmatic competence must be elaborated with regard to its bi-directionality. The phenomena of transfer and influence are addressed and explained below.

5.1 Pragmatic Transfer

Studies of language transfer in adult second/foreign language (L2) learning have long concentrated on the effects of the learners' first languages (L1s) on their acquisition or use of the L2 (Su:2010).

This area of research is still in its infancy as traditional transfer research has directed its focus on grammatical competences including the knowledge of sound patterns, word formation, sentence structures and so on, hand in hand with the focus of second /foreign language research. However, it was observed by some researchers that on the communicative level, learners that have reached an advanced level encounter communicative failure when speaking to native speakers of the target language even though their attempts are grammatically correct. Within the scope of interlanguage pragmatics, pragmatic transfer is a hotly-debated issue, comprising not only knowledge of linguistic rules but also speakers' knowledge of sociocultural rules that allow L2 learners to acquire the rules of appropriate speaking:

Throughout the short life of interlanguage pragmatics as a second language research, it has been a virtually uncontested assumption that non-native speakers' comprehension and production of linguistic action is considerably influenced by their L1 pragmatic knowledge. The literature strongly supports this hypothesis. However, whereas there has been a controversy about the role of transfer in the traditional core areas of second language research (syntax, morphology, semantics), there has been little theoretical and methodological debate about transfer in interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper,1992).

Thus, the definition of pragmatic transfer is not easy as there is still disagreement about how to define the scope of pragmatics. Taking a look at the general definitions of transfer, for instance, Odlin (1989) defines it as 'the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired', and it is obvious that researchers comprise any kind of

transfer at any kind of linguistic level without making a border between them. The same problem arises in the attempts to define pragmatic transfer. Various definitions of pragmatic transfer show that there is no consensus: In Wolfson's definition, for instance, 'The use of rules of speaking from one's own native speech community when interacting with members of the host community or simply when speaking or writing in a second language is known as sociolinguistic or pragmatic transfer' (Wolfson: 1989). Here the terms 'pragmatic' and 'sociolinguistic' are used on an equal base. Moreover, the terms 'sociolinguistic rule' and 'rules of speaking' are also used interchangeably. Takahashi and Beebe (1993) link 'cross-linguistic influence' and 'transfer', whereas Odlin (1989) talks about 'discourse transfer'. Clyne et al. (1991) examine in their study apologies and complaints referring to pragmatics with focus on turn-taking issues in a cross-cultural interchange referring to discourse. While doing that, they make a distinction between intercultural, contrastive, and interlanguage pragmatics and intercultural, contrastive, and interlanguage discourse. The confusion in defining pragmatic transfer lies obviously in the multidimensionality of speech itself. To decide when a transfer is a pragmatic issue, is discussed by Kasper (1992):

(...) what is it that interlanguage pragmaticists do when they say they study pragmatic transfer'? — the object of inquiry has consistently been the transfer of speech act knowledge. While the focus on speech act realization might be seen as the pragmatic end of what has loosely been referred to as 'rules of speaking', floor management exemplifies their discourse end. Clearly there is a vast array of 'rules of speaking' that defies such cut-and-dry compartmentalization. Transfer of address terms, honorifics, and register is a purely sociolinguistic matter since these features are concerned with social variation of language use, yet as soon as their strategic exploitation in the speaker's pursuance of some illocutionary goal is under scrutiny, the issue becomes a pragmatic one. (Kasper, 1992:206)

In trying to find a definition that comprises the important pragmatic aspects, Kasper (1992) makes her definition as follows:

(...) the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information. (Kasper, 1992:207)

There are four types of pragmatic transfer which have to be distinguished; pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer; positive and negative pragmatic transfer.

5.1.1 Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic Transfer

Due to the distinction Thomas (1983) makes between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics, subsequently a differentiation between two types of transfer is made. In this differentiation, Thomas (1983) concentrates only on the negative outcomes. For both there are more comprehensive definitions made by Kasper. She states that pragmalinguistic transfer is:

(...) the process whereby the illocutionary force or politeness value assigned to particular linguistic material in L1 influences learner's perception and production of form-function mappings in L2. (Kasper, 1992:209)

Here the influence can either be a positive or negative one which occurs while learners select certain strategies and forms from their L1; meanwhile, they form an interlanguage that affects the illocutionary force or relative politeness value of a particular expression during that transferring process.

Sociopragmatic transfer occurs due to perceptions that are culturally different.

According to Kasper sociopragmatic transfer is defined as:

(...) the influence of the social perceptions underlying language users' interpretation and performance of linguistic action in L1 on their assessment of subjectively equivalent L2 contexts. (Kasper, 1992:209)

Kasper also comments on the interrelation between these two concepts and that it is difficult to identify in practice (Kasper, 1992:210). Another issue which is not clear in these definitions is the bi-directionality as far as these transfers are concerned. Ignored is the influence of L2 contexts on the L1, which should be considered when examining bilingual or multilingual speakers. Moreover, the first definition's focus is on language learners, which would particularly refer to second language learning, whereas in the definition of sociopragmatic transfer she calls them language users, which is a more neutral use which would also include second language acquisition concerns. The significance of a bi-directional perspective regarding pragmatic transfer is also stressed by Su (2010). In his study, he investigates the bi-directionality of language transfer of L1 to L2 and L2 to L1 at the pragmatic level with a focus on the speech act of request. In his study he found transfer from both directions. In our study, the bi-directional perspective is also considered.

5.1.2 Positive and Negative Pragmatic Transfer

According to Maeshiba et al. (1996:155) positive pragmatic transfer is:

(...) the projection of first language-based sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge where such projections result in perceptions and behaviors consistent with those of second language users, (...)

Barron (2002) discusses that some methodological difficulties may arise with this kind of definition as some appropriate manner of an L2 learner may be due to universal elements and not to positive pragmatic transfer. She also points out that due to the fact that positive pragmatic transfer is an aiding notion and not a hindering one, little research has been done on it.

Negative pragmatic transfer having been subject to a range of studies in interlanguage pragmatic research is defined by Maeshiba et al. (1996:155) as:

(...) the projection of first language-based sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic knowledge onto second language contexts where such projections result in perceptions and behaviours different from those of second language users.

Both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic negative transfer have been found in ILP research. Pragmalinguistic negative transfer, for instance, has been observed in pragmatic routines (Eisenstein/Bodman, 1993) or in lexical syntactic modification (Faerch/Kasper, 1989; Nikula, 1996:209ff). Pragmalinguistic negative transfer occurs in cases in which pragmatic routines are translated literally from the L1 into the L2, which are not common cases. More common are pragmalinguistic negative transfers that arise when the politeness level is affected due to the choice of strategies by the language user in realizing speech acts. Here one variable is the frequency of strategy usage (House, 1989). Beebe et al. (1990) found that L1-specific semantic formulae may be adopted, or L1-methods of modification may be evident (Faerch/Kasper, 1989).

As far as the sociopragmatic negative transfer is concerned, Beebe et al. (1990) mention learners' evaluation of context factors and Nikula (1996) the general politeness style, the last but not least is stated by Takahashi/Beebe (1993) pointing to the relative appropriateness of a particular speech act.

6. Politeness

The notion of politeness and its universality has been a strongly discussed phenomenon since Brown & Levinson's attempt to develop a linguistic model of politeness and facework. However, the roots of explaining what politeness and face are lie in a more anthropological model by Goffman (1967). In her article 'Face and Politeness: new (insights) for old (concepts)', Bargiela-Chiappini discusses Goffman's elaboration of 'face' which is in her opinion closer to the richer Chinese construct of face, which in turn stems from a society traditionally dependent on a highly complex network of social obligations, where hierarchy, status and prestige require acknowledgement through normative, as well as strategic, "facework" (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1455). Another aspect that she discusses is the notion of "facework" and 'politeness' and their relationship arguing that these concepts need to be distinguished and a deeper understanding can be gained by placing them within the domain of cultural theory, in general, and social morality, in particular. She draws a clear line between linguistic politeness and 'facework', which are according to her (incorrectly) synonymous treated aspects. A similar proposition for distinction is also made by Vilkki (2006).

She stresses that the common sense and the theoretical aspects of politeness should be kept apart (Vilkki, 2006:322). Vilkki (2006) summarizes a large number of theoretical works on politeness, face and facework. In fact, these terms are elaborated in the light of pragmatics and sociolinguistic research, which propose an abstract definition of these notions 'directly or indirectly referring to a wide variety of social strategies for constructing co-operative social interaction across cultures' (Vilkki, 2006:322). Moreover, cross-cultural work and empirical work in wide range of specific languages and cultures have, however, highlighted the socio-cultural variations in the interpretation of these kinds of terms (Vilkki, 2006:322). In this thesis, a similar approach to make a clear distinction will be followed. However, a historical overview will also be presented at first to reconstruct how the need for such a distinction arose. For this purpose, these notions will be elaborated separately in the following sections.

6.1 The Phenomenon of Politeness and Face: A Historical Overview

Brown and Levinson's model of face was affected directly by that of Goffman (1955); but, ultimately originated with Durkheim's (1915) division between *sacred* and *profane* domains and the enforcing social mechanisms of negative and positive social behavior. Goffman pointed out that each person owns:

(...) two points of view-a defensive orientation toward saving his own face and a protective orientation toward saving the others' face. Some practices will be primarily defensive and others primarily protective(...) In trying to save the face of others, the person must choose a tack that will not lead to loss of his own; in trying to save his own face, he must consider the loss of face that his action may entail for others (Goffman,1955:217).

As a matter of fact, Brown and Levinson built upon this view by Goffman and developed the two concepts of *positive* and *negative* politeness. In the process of developing this view, they treat both politeness and face as identical terms and term positive face (or positive politeness) as a social actor's self-image of social membership and consequent desire to be recognized as a being with a "perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values/ resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable"(1978:106); and a negative face (or negative politeness) as that member's concomitant self-image of individuality and "his want to have freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded" (1978:134).

Although derived from Goffman's developed anthropological view which originated with Durkheim's philosophical opinions, there is a significant difference when compared with Brown and Levinson's concept of politeness and how 'face' appears. In Brown and Levinson's elaboration of 'negative politeness' from which a notion of 'negative face' emerges, the individual himself and his psychology are in the center of a cognitive concept, whereas Goffman's concept is about the '*general properties*' that individuals share in social interaction (Bargiela-Chiappini,2003:1460).

In order to be able to understand Goffman's version of 'face', it is vitally important to take a look at the definition expressed by him: "*The positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact*" (Goffman, 1967, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1458). As to Bargiela-Chiappini, (2003:1458) the "line" mentioned in Goffman's definition is the interactants' own evaluation of the interaction and of all its participants, which includes self-evaluation.

She also adds that an individual's response to or others' evaluation of his own face would not be purely rational, which automatically leads to the fact that *emotions* are involved, so that harm to another's face causes "anguish", and harm to one's own face is expressed in "anger" (Goffman 1967:23, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1458). So to Goffman (1967), face-maintenance is a struggle that individuals encounter in their social relations, so that one's own face and other's face are maintained through self-respect and considerateness. In fact, this maintenance is not usually the objective of the *interaction* but rather a *condition* of it. He adds that the study of face-saving practices is the study "of the traffic of rules of social interactions, whilst 'facework' refers to "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (Goffman 1967:12, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1458).

Goffman points out that "facework" actions may be conscious or unconscious and turn out to be more habitual. He even mentions the aspect of cross-cultural variations in face-saving practices, but, stresses that some similarities suggest

that there may be a fixed repertoire of “possible practices” (Goffman 1967:13-14, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1458).

In this view we see a close relation to Brown & Levinson’s notion of face and face-saving acts in terms of universality. Nevertheless, there are differences in terms of facework and how Goffman sees it. In this sense Brown & Levinson aim at manifesting a more linguistic expression of ‘politeness’, whereas Goffman’s social anthropological model has been highly affected by Durkheim’s social solidarity (Manning, 1992; Ditton, 1980, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1454). His primary interest lies in a theory of social interaction rather than a framework for polite behavior, which brought about the influence by Durkheim’s work where the symbolic value of social action is seen to have originated in religious practice (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1459). This influence can be generated from the religious language of some of Goffman’s characterizations, not least that of the person as a ‘ritual object’, a ‘deity’, and his own ‘priest’, and that of ‘face’ as ‘sacred’ (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1459). It must be borne in mind that a linguistic characterization as Brown & Levinson tried to elaborate in their study *Politeness. Some universals in language use* (Brown & Levinson 1987) can neither follow a religious view of ‘face’ nor can it use words that are loaded by religious values. In this respect Brown & Levinson follow a dualistic notion of ‘face’, or public self- image, with matching positive and negative politeness behavior. These two notions are the basis of their study and in this sense depart completely from both Durkheim’s “positive and negative rituals” and Goffman’s elaboration of ‘face’ (and “facework”).

Due to the fact that Goffman did not draw a strict line in defining when ‘negative face’ or in his words ‘avoidance rituals’ take place, it did not receive criticism in terms of cultural grounds, as it did with Brown & Levinson. Their variable ‘imposition’ was criticized by many as culture-bound and therefore deemed to not be universal as it was claimed by Brown & Levinson (1987).

Brown and Levinson’s concept of negative and positive politeness gained a lot of criticism in the light of much empirical data showing that there are many types of facework in situations where many face wants are threatened in contrast to Brown and Levinson’s claim that only one type of face can be threatened at any given time and that all FTAs can be analyzed by looking at decontextualised speech acts (Wilson et.al., 1991-1992:218, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1461).

Another aspect to be criticized is the aspect of ‘universality’ that Brown and Levinson claim to be in their notion of “facework”. Actually, recent research findings argue that a cultural theory of social interaction does not require universals (Ehlich, 1992:107, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1461).

A closer look at Chinese research in this field displays a different understanding of ‘face’ as a more public and more positive concept, consisting of three face types (Lim, 1994, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003: 1462). Apart from the more individualistic Western face notion, which is a result of the self saving-image, the Chinese ‘face’ is embedded in a situational construct, which is closer to the view of Goffman, who claims that normative and situational factors determine the degree of sensitivity to face and the concern to be shown for all faces involved in an interaction (own and others), which share equal status (Goffman, 1967:6, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003:1462). From this angle, Bargiela-Chiappini (2003:1462) points out that Goffman’s expression of face is closely related to the Chinese notion of quantifiable ‘face’. She continues that the Chinese notion of ‘face’, which was also a topic in one of Goffman’s essays, remains a primary focus of interest in the situated study of interpersonal behavior. However, she also draws attention to the lack of original Chinese discourse studies and to the fact that Western analytical

framework is borrowed by many researchers and that this hinders the development of much-needed indigenous theories and empirical work.

Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) draws attention to the fact that there are different “faces of face” as far as the cross-cultural aspect is concerned. Although Brown and Levinson claim that their notion of ‘face’ is a design to accommodate cross-cultural conflicts grounded in different views of what constitutes “good behavior in interaction”, the question of how to handle cultures where ‘face’ is important but not the central key to interpersonal behavior and those where ‘face’ takes second place to seemingly more dominant notions such as discernment and deference is still open. It has been suggested that other factors must be considered in a culture-situated understanding of ‘face’ and its dynamics: personal values, one’s own self-concept, self-identity in various groupings, role expectations and normative constraints (Earley, 1997:95-96, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003: 1463). Among the well-known universal dimensions of cultural variation (individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity-femininity, relationship with nature), one other dimension, shame v. guilt, may account for the dominant role of the controlling and sanctioning groups (e.g. family, fellow workers) on facework (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003: 1463).

As an alternative, Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) draws attention to Early’s conclusion that the need to understand and compare cultural conceptualizations of the social self and its relationship to others would be a more fruitful way of studying the relevance and dynamics of ‘face’ and ‘facework’ in interpersonal contacts.

In up-to-date studies there is a distinction between the theoretical and the common-sense background, which brought about a definition of politeness as a strategy of conflict-avoidance or as a strategic construction of cooperative social interaction (Eelen 2001: 21, Watts 2003:47, quoted in Vilkki, 2006:323).

In recent analyses of politeness and related seen terms such as face and facework, an exhaustive overview of critics is presented, for example Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Bargiela-Chiappini (2003), Vilkki (2006). In the

1990s Fraser pointed out four main ways of viewing politeness: the “social-norm” view, the “conversational-maxim” view, the “face-saving” view and the “conversational-contract” view. One decade later, we come across supporters of these views, e.g. Eelen (2001). However, he adds some other theoretical perspectives in his classification of politeness research. According to him, ‘not only the notion of politeness as strategic conflict-avoidance, but also the notion of politeness as social indexing is universal to some extent in various frameworks of politeness’ (Eelen, 2001: 20-29, quoted in Vilkki, 2006:323).

In the light of supporting the distinction mentioned above, Bargiela-Chiappini proposes to take Watts et al.’s definition of *second order politeness* and widen its scope, as “[I]n studying politeness, we are automatically studying social interaction and the appropriacy of certain modes of behavior in accordance with socio-cultural conventions” (Watts et al., 1992: 6, quoted in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003: 1465).

6.2 Face-Negotiation Theory

In terms of solving conflict situations, apologies play an important role and therefore are closely related to facework. In regard to this and to understand the notion of face in this sense, a definition that can be applied cross-culturally and a perspective that supports the conflict-solving aspect of apologies is needed. This is presented by Ting-Toomey in her 'Face-Negotiation' Theory in which she introduces the terms *self-face-oriented facework* and *other-oriented facework*. In her updated version of the face-negotiation theory Ting-Toomey (1998) listed a range of facework strategies that distinguishes on a cultural-level in terms individualistic and collectivistic cultures. A similar attempt to define different communication styles during a conflict situation was made by Ting-Toomey, Trubisky and Lin (1990). In their article 'The Influence of Individualism and Collectivism and Self-monitoring on Conflict Styles' they introduce several strategies that reflect conflict styles based on Ting-Toomey's propositions (1988). Later on, Ting-Toomey and Atsuko Kurogi (1998) draw the focus more to face issues in the updated version of the propositions. In these propositions, face is seen as an explanatory mechanism for culture's influence on conflict behaviour. A summary of Ting-Toomey's (1998) stated propositions regarding facework is visible in Table 2 below. As can be observed in the table, the first five points are directly related to how facework is applied by these cultures. In this study, this perspective of face and facework has been retained so as to explain the strategies that have been used during the realization of the act of apologizing postulating that the Turkish culture is a collective and the German culture an individualistic one. Originally drawing on the work of Goffman (1955) and Brown and Levinson (1987), Ting-Toomey (1988) created a framework that serves to explain differences and similarities in face and facework during a conflict situation. Furthermore, this framework can also serve as a tool that can be applied while repairing the possible consequences of a conflict, as a conflict may occur out of a transgression that has to be repaired which is realized through the act of apologizing. Hence, face and facework in Turkish-German bilingual pragmatic competence with respect to apologizing strategies should be examined in this respect.

Table 2: Facework strategies according to Ting-Toomey (1998)

Members of individualistic cultures tend to express/use		Members of collectivistic cultures tend to express/use	
i.	A greater degree of self-face maintenance messages	i.	A greater degree of other-face or mutual-face maintenance messages
ii.	Self-face autonomy – preserving interaction strategies	ii.	Other-face non-impositional strategies
iii.	Self-face approval-enhancing interaction strategies	iii.	Other-face approval-enhancing interaction strategies
iv.	(when their face is threatened) will tend to use situational accounts (i.e. external causes) to save face	iv.	(when their face is threatened) will tend to use dispositional accounts (i.e. internal causes) to save face
v.	A greater degree of direct upfront facework strategies in a conflict situation	v.	A greater degree of indirect smoothing facework strategies
vi.	More dominating/competing conflict strategies	vi.	More avoiding /obliging conflict strategies
vii.	More substantive, outcome-oriented conflict strategies (e.g. substantive appeals, task-oriented integrating and compromising styles)	vii.	More relational , process-oriented conflict strategies (e.g. identity and ingroup-based appeals, relational integration and concession styles)

7. The Speech Act of Apology

This chapter comprises the definition and discussions of the speech act of apology. It concentrates on a range of the up-to-date findings on apologies in terms of cross-cultural evidence collected by researchers elaborating this field, as well as the chronology of this area of research.

Glancing back at the 1980s, this research field was defined to be in its “painful adolescence” (Fraser, 1981:70). At this very early stage of research, the focus was on finding a set of rules for apologizing, but this lost its appeal within a very short space of time. From an applied linguistic point of view, the aim of studying apologies turned into finding “the major semantic formulas” of apologizing (Olshtain & Cohen 1983) and widened its research area to elaborate a speech-act-specific “sociopragmatic set” of social and contextual factors (Olshtain 1989; Olshtain & Weinbach 1987).

In social psychology, the focus has been on elucidating apologetic behavior in terms of social psychological and contextual factors, in contrast to the applied linguistic view, which aimed at finding the universal rules of apologetic behavior.

In his 1998 article “Apologies: what do we know?” Meier criticizes the minimal focus in research that studies the underlying cultural attitudes in apologetic behavior. He continues and explains his concern:

(...) the pragmatics of apologies, i.e. who says what to whom, when and why, has generally been descriptive rather than explanatory, giving short shrift to the ‘why’ (Meier, 1998).

One can assume that the scope of studying apology behavior has to be expanded by including several aspects, which is only possible by following an interdisciplinary research method. Lakoff (2008) also underlines the importance of interdisciplinary studies and recalls that originally all scholarship was completely multidisciplinary, in the sense that sharp

distinctions were not explicitly recognized among disciplines. He also adds that the need for disciplinary boundaries increased as sciences, especially social and physical branches became more complex in the late twentieth century. Physical sciences solved the problem by creating new formal fields, whereas social sciences seem to have had more problems in choosing a suitable field name when new thoughts overran their original disciplinary vessel. In this sense he sees linguistics as a paradigmatic case.

Language comprises aspects that can be linked to a range of other fields, for instance, philosophy, communication, sociology, culture etc. In order to understand the notion of apology, its interdisciplinary nature must be accepted. Apologies consist of a complex nature and the facets they have makes the study of them multifunctional.

They are hard to identify, define or categorize, a difficulty arises directly out of the functions they perform. Hence too, they occur in a range of forms from canonically explicit to ambiguously indirect; the functions served by those forms range from abject abasement for wrong doing, to conventional greasing of the social wheels, to expressions of sympathy, advance mollification for intended bad behaviour, and formal public displays of currently “appropriate” feeling. Thus, in terms of the relation between form and function, apologies are both one-to-many and many-to-one, a fact that only makes the analyst’s task more daunting (and more exciting) (Lakoff, 2008: 201)

Being aware of the difficulty to find a definition that preserves its territories in the sense of field study, the notion of apology will be elaborated by trying to consider all facets it contributes to the researcher in the following section.

7.1 What is an Apology?

From the perspective of speech act theory Austin (1962, 1998) puts apologies under the category of *behavitives* along other speech acts such as greetings, wishes and expressions of gratitude. In his categorization, apologies are seen as acts that express attitudes regarding social behaviour. From a different point of view, Searle (1979) categorizes apologies under the group of *expressives* along with congratulations, thanks, condolences, and welcomes. In his explanation of expressives, Searle (1979) states that expressives are actions with no direction of fit. In other words, when realizing an illocutionary force indicating device such as: *I am sorry for taking the space in the line*, the speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world. So, the truth of such an utterance is not questioned, the speaker just brings up his/her feelings about the occurrence. According to this view, an act of apologizing can only take place if firstly the speaker believes that a particular act occurred which transgressed upon the addressee's life and secondly that the person affected by the speaker's act deserves an apology. There are certainly some problems with this definition of apology as it ignores aspects such as individual and social needs that may affect the intent to or not to apologize. Later on, Fraser (1990) added another condition to Searle's for an apology to take place. According to him, the speaker or violator must at the very least believe that he/she was responsible for the transgression, so that the need for apologizing can arise. In his view the individual aspect is partly seen, but, still neglects the fact that the speaker could apologise for restoring purposes just because he/she has advantages if the relationship with his/her interlocutor is not damaged. Thus in order to be able to make a definition of an apology, one has to ask himself in which situations an apology actually takes place? According to Scher and Darley (1996), apologies are common utterances and are appropriately offered when an individual has violated a social norm. Seen from this angle, apologies serve as *remedial work*, designed to smooth over or remedy any social disruption that was caused by the norm violation (Scher & Darley, 1996:127). If apologies are utterances that take place when a norm is broken, then they are closely related to a society's set of moral attitudes. Once

the set is transgressed, an apology serves to bring back harmony to the interlocution. This view is also supported by Goffman's definition,

“an apology is a gesture through which an individual splits himself into two parts, the part that is guilty of an offense and the part that dissociates itself from the delict and affirms a belief in the offended rule” (Goffman, 1955:113).

Although this definition mainly supports the view of an apology being a mitigator of the offense itself and does not make a direct link to the interlocutor, the first attempts to conceive an apology as a “face-saving” act can be inferred, as when faced with responsibility the offender may either accept the blame and do the act or may reject it.

The same view in which apologies are seen as remedying tools is supported by Edmondson (1981). He makes a fusion of Searle's and Goffman's definitions. According to him an apology is:

(...) an example in which illocutionary force may be derived from locutionary force (directly ascertainable for a speaker of the language) with a minimum of potential negotiation. An apology is an instance of socially sanctioned H-supportive behaviour. (Edmondson, 1981:280)

The feature of restoring social harmony is also mentioned by Edmondson. In his view the speaker's effort is stressed because according to Edmondson (1981) the speaker's intention with an apology is to reduce the hearer's potential complaint. In this definition although not mentioned, apologies are seen as speaker-oriented face-saving means implying that apologies bear a hearer face-saving function automatically.

Brown and Levinson (1987) take Goffman's view of apology and argue that they are damaging to the speaker's positive face. They call apologies negative politeness devices as they function to redress the threats on the hearer's negative face. They define apologies as negative politeness devices as they see in apologies a device for remediating the face-threatening act.

The function of an apology as a "face-saving" act is also seen in Meier's words, where he calls the acts "*repair work*" that function to save a speaker's image in a situation where the speaker behaves in some way below the standard expected relative to a particular group (Meier, 1997).

He assumes that a person's image is damaged when a particular individual is perceived as responsible for a violation of some social norm. From this perspective, it is not the broken rule that has to be repaired, but the individual's image itself which suffers from being damaged as a consequence of breaking the norm. In his article "Conflict and The Power of Apology", Meier represents a model of apology that has a form of impression management (i.e. a need or desire for image maintenance) as its central force, and sketches it roughly as follows:

S's (speaker's) image => S's (speaker's) linkage to a norm violation => S's (speaker's) damaged image => apology => S's (speaker's) repaired image (Meier, 2004).

Holmes (1989) also sees apologies as safe supportive acts for both the speaker and the hearer, building on the benefits an apology presents to both interlocutors. According to her, an apology is:

A speech act addressed to B's face-needs and intended to remedy an offense for which A takes responsibility, and thus to restore the equilibrium between A and B (where A is the apologisee, and B is the person offended) (Holmes, 1990:159).

Olshtain defines an apology as, “basically a speech act which is intended to provide support for the H (hearer) who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation of X” (Olshtain, 1989:156).

He adds to his definition the function of an apology as a balancing act, “the overall goal of apology is to maintain or restore harmony” (Olshtain, 1989:167). Olshtain and Cohen (1981) see speech acts as cultural-dependent notions. With this in mind, they started a project that still stands as one of the biggest researches done in this field and which elaborated the content of apologies on a cross-cultural basis. The CCSARP (Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project) is explained in section 7.2.2, (p.76). The coding manual of this project has been taken predominantly *inter alia* as a basis for data analyses in this study.

7.2 Development in the Theory of Apology

Taking a look at the research data from the past 20 years, there are two main areas that have been explored: the first dealing with what people say when they apologize (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper, 1989a; Olshtain, 1983; Schlenker and Darby, 1981; Trosberg, 1987; Olshtain and Cohen, 1983), and the second the effectiveness of apologies in repairing the negative effects of misbehavior (e.g. Darby and Schlenker, 1982, 1989; Givens, Mills, Smith & Stack, 1994; Scher & Huff, 1991). In the following section, an overview of these studies will be introduced.

7.2.1 Content of Apologies: On the Way of Finding a Taxonomy

Beholding the culturally-dependent sensitivity of apologies, it is rather clear that there are various ways of apologizing in different languages. It is expected that the range of possible apology strategies in different languages is enormous (Aijmer, 1996). Taking this into account, it would be difficult to rely on only one categorization of apologies. Scholars conducting cross-cultural speech act studies have tried to systemize and classify apologizing strategies in a range of languages. In this section some of these taxonomies and how a synthesis of them was applied in this study will be stated.

A pioneer in classifying apologies was Fraser (1981). In his taxonomy nine categories are stated:

Strategy 1: Announcing that you are apologising

E.g. I (hereby) apologise for...

Strategy 2: Expressing one's obligation to apologise

E. g. I must apologise for...

Strategy 3: Offering an apology

E. g. I (hereby) offer my apology. I would like to offer my apology to you for...

Strategy 4: Requesting that the hearer accept an apology

E. g. Please, accept my apology for... Let me apologise for... I would appreciate it if you would accept my apology for...

Strategy 5: Expressing regret for the offense

E. g. I'm (truly / very / terribly) sorry for...

Strategy 6: Requesting forgiveness for the offense

E.g. Please excuse me for ... Pardon me for ... I beg your pardon for ...

Strategy 7: Acknowledging responsibility for the offending act

E. g. That is my fault

That was a dumb thing of/for me to do

Strategy 8: Promising forbearance from a similar offending act

E. g. I promise you that will never happen again

Strategy 9: Offering redress

E. g. Please let me pay for the damage I have done

In his classification, Fraser (1981) categorizes apologies from the most formal and direct to the least formal and the least direct ones. Fraser (1981) also argued the importance of situational factors that affect an apology, such as the degree of the offense, the level of formality in the interaction and the familiarity of the interlocutors engaged. All these factors determine the choice of apology employed by the offender. Moreover, Fraser (1981) emphasized that apology strategies are used more frequently in combination with others than alone. His pioneering taxonomy motivated various scholars in researching apologizing strategies. The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project is one of the largest ones applied in this field as detailed below:

7.2.2 The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP)

The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) is one of the most wide-ranging analyses of the content of apologies that has been realized (CCSARP; cf. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a, for reviews). Having been started as an attempt to develop a measure of sociocultural competence in the learning of a second language (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981), the project turned out to be a broad analysis of the realization of the speech acts of requests and apologies across cultures. Furthermore, in this analysis of the realization of the speech acts of requests and apologies, the goals of the project were to compare across languages and to establish the similarities and differences between native and non-native speakers' realization patterns in these two acts in each of the languages studied within the project. The project collected data in eight languages: Australian English, American English, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German, Hebrew and Russian. For each language, data were collected from both native and non-native speakers.

The basic research question that determines most of the pragmatic studies is the phenomenon of *universality*, namely to what extent it is possible to establish the degree to which the rules that govern the use of language in context vary from culture to culture and from language to language (Blum-Kulka, S. & Olshtain, 1984). For the CCSARP project the main question lay in determining to what extent it would be possible to specify the particular pragmatic rules of use for a given language, rules which second language learners will have to acquire in order to achieve successful communication in the target language.

Focusing on two speech acts (apologies and requests), the research goals of the projects were as follows:

- a) To create native speakers' patterns of realization with respect to the two speech acts mentioned above relative to different social constraints, in each of the languages studied, which they called *situational variability*.
- b) To create the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of requests and apologies cross-linguistically, relative to the same social constraints across the languages studied, which they called the *cross-cultural variability*.
- c) To create the similarities and differences between native and non-native realization patterns of requests and apologies relative to the same social constraints, which they put into the category of *individual, native versus non-native variability*.

The method for data collection was of empirical nature. The instrument used for data collection was a discourse completion test.

In fact, the nature of apologies is quite different from requests:

First of all, apologies are to be seen as *post-event acts*, while requests are always *pre-event acts*. In their analyses Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) report that requests are made in an attempt to cause an event, whereas by apologizing, the speaker recognizes the fact that a violation of social norm has been committed and admits to the fact that s/he is at least partially involved in its cause. Thus they draw attention to the point that apologies by their nature involve loss of face for the speaker and support for the hearer, while requests might involve loss of face for both interlocutors. This view has been criticized by most of the researchers by stressing the underlying structure of an apologetic act. Meier (2004), in his study on repair work, for instance, takes this idea to a different angle by criticizing Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and their neglect concerning hearer's face. He sees this conflict as an artefact of Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and its problems in application in terms of negative and positive face:

*(...) apologies have somewhat of a dual status for Brown and Levinson, being classified as both a FTA as regards speaker's positive face and a negative politeness strategy as regards hearer's face. However, if I say **forgive me** or **excuse me**, could this also not be interpreted as a request for exoneration? If such expressions are requests, then according to Brown and Levinson they must also constitute threats to hearer's negative face. (Meier, 2004)*

Although there are different views in deciding if an apology is an FTA to only the speaker or for both interlocutors, according to the analyses, CCSARP stated three preconditions that must hold true for the apology to take place:

- a) S did X or dispensed with doing X (or is about to do it)
- b) X is noticed by S only, by H only, by both S and H, or by a third party as a breach of social norm.
- c) X is noticed by at least one of the parties involved as offending, harming, or affecting H in some way.

In order for the apology to arise when these three preconditions occur, S must be aware of all the preconditions and conclude the need for him/her to do the act. By doing the act, the speaker realizes the social norm and respects it (recognizes precondition (b)) and attempts to appease the hearer (recognizes precondition (c)).

In cases where the violation has not been committed against the hearer, the speaker has various ways to announce the news to the hearer. The CCSARP ignored such situations and concentrated only on those in which the offense is known to both interlocutors.

In the light of the collected data, the CCSARP has proposed five strategies that shape the “apology speech act set” namely the strategies that can be applied to apologize (cf., Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989b; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983).

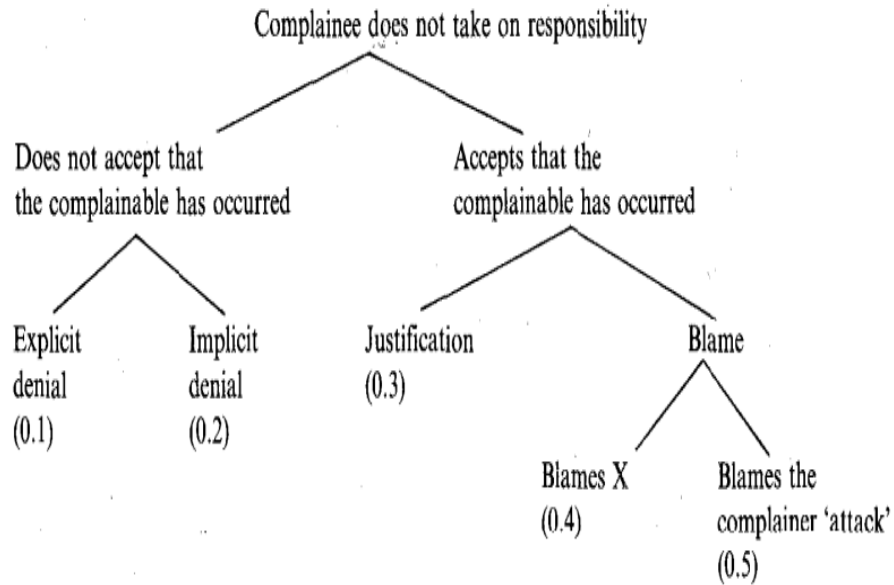
These five strategies are:

- i. An illocutionary force indicating device (IFID; such as, “I’m sorry”, “I apologize”, or “excuse me”).
- ii. An explanation or account of the cause which brought about the violation.
- iii. An expression of the speaker’s responsibility for the offense.
- iv. An offer of repair.
- v. A promise of forbearance.

The data collected in CCSARP showed that these five strategies are the most regularly made use of in apologies in a wide range of languages and across a wide range of cultures.

A to-some-extent-different taxonomy was proposed by Trosborg (1987), who distinguished five categories. She emphasizes that apologizing strategies can be divided according to whether the speaker decides that an action which requires an apology has occurred or not. The first two categories derive from the speaker’s not accepting that an apology is necessary, and are known as “explicit denial” and “implicit denial”. The remaining three categories are the outcome of the speaker accepting the fact that there is a need for an apology and are: giving a justification, blaming someone else, or attacking the complainer:

Fig. 1: Order of Taking on Responsibility by Trosborg (1987)

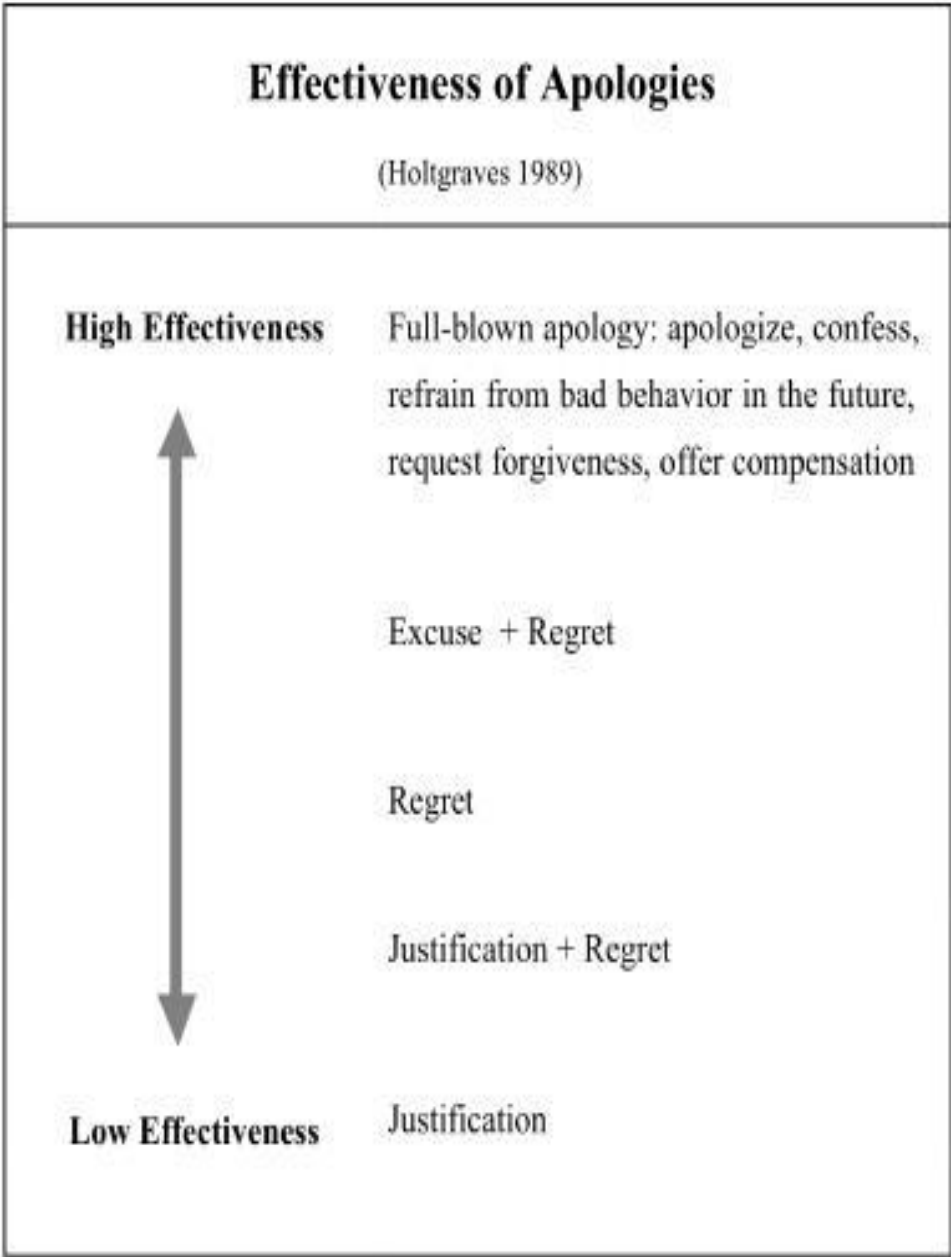


Taking into consideration the taxonomies mentioned above, a synthesis was made while coding the data of this study. The grading of Trosborg in the “taking-on-responsibility strategy has turned out to be very important for this study. Moreover, another strategy has also been added throughout the analyses, namely ‘no reaction’ in terms of whether any reaction was given or not and what the purpose of this act was.

7.2.3 The Effectiveness of Apologies

While information about the content of apologies was collected, the second research area about how effective apologies are was also elaborated. There is a considerably long list on both popular and scholarly attention drawn to the significance of apologies (Meier, 2004). Logically thinking, there must be an effect of apologizing. There are basically two research approaches in addressing the effectiveness of apologies. One approach uses actual or elicited apologies and presumes that those apologies that occur are, in fact, optimally effective. Most of the studies in applied linguistics fall into this category, however, the focus in these studies is less on the effectiveness than on the classification of strategy types, their co-occurrence with contextual variables, and on cross-cultural differences (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Meier, 1996). The second approach demonstrates experiments specifically designed to judge awareness and efficiency of contextualized apologies. These studies are mainly influenced by socio-psychological sources. For example, Holtgraves' list of the most effective to least effective apologies resulted from a respondent's rankings on four scales: hearer satisfaction; difficulty of use; helpfulness in solving conflict; likelihood of use, in three scenarios.

Fig. 2: Effectiveness of Apologies according to Holtgraves



Studies on the effectiveness of apologies have mainly examined how judgments are made about a transgressor, the amount of blame and punishment assigned to transgressors and what differences occur when a transgressor offers an apology or none. According to Darby & Schlenker, 1982, 1989, Givens et al., 1994; Scher & Huff, 1991, apologies reduce the sanctioning applied to transgressors by reducing negative evaluations of the identity of the transgressors. Moreover, they may also affect sanctioning by reducing the anger that victims feel after the transgression (Ohbuchi, Kameda & Agarie 1989; Scher & Huff, 1991).

Researchers, who work on the effectiveness of apologies, agree on the fact that it is not possible to say whether apologies reduce blame or not. In some situations, where apologies include an expression of responsibility or admission of guilt, it may be the case that apologies rather increase blame. According to Scher and Darley (1997), apologies serve to assert the speaker's compliance with the ethical conventions of society, and therefore the admission of responsibility may not necessarily affect the more moralistic judgments of blame. In their empirical studies, Darby and Schlenker (1982) showed the effect of apologies to reduce blame judgments; however had no effect on blame in research by Darby and Schlenker (1989).

Another study by Darby and Schlenker (1982), focused on children's responses to a transgressor who either did not apologize, gave a perfunctory apology, a standard apology, or a compensation apology. Scher and Darley (1997) comment that although these apologies were very complex in the number of messages included in the apology, they did not allow an independent analysis of the effects of the different messages. They continue and criticize that there has been only limited examination of differing effects of different forms of apologies.

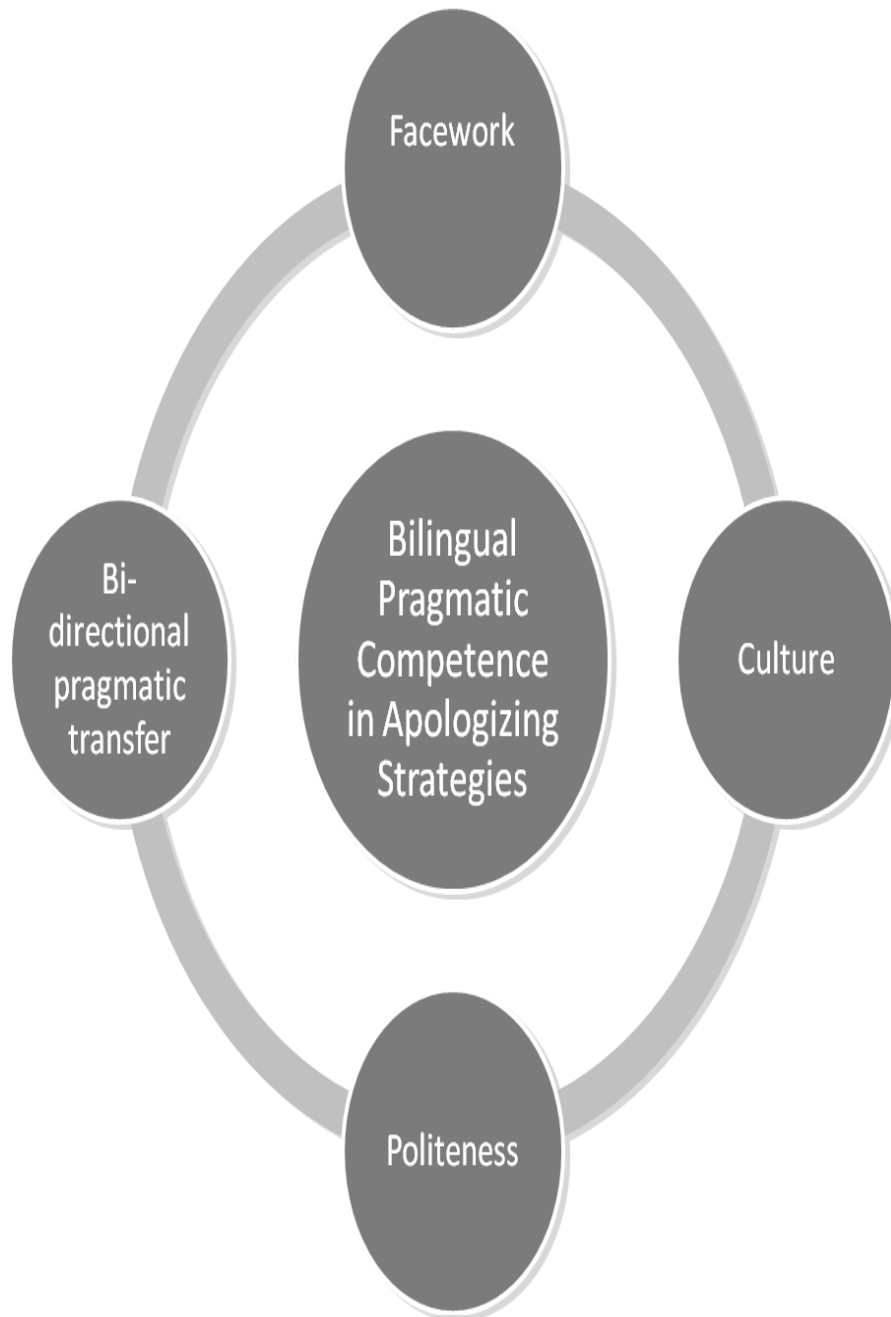
CHAPTER III

Research Design and Methodology

8. Scope of the Study

This study measures the pragmatic competence of Turkish-German bilinguals when applying the speech act of apology. It is built upon three parts. The first part concentrates on the apologizing strategies in the light of the CCSARP manual (see Appx. B) that are used by the subjects in both languages. The second part concentrates on the politeness orientation whenever an apologizing strategy is applied in terms of how the self-face saving and other-face saving strategies differ in the usage of both languages considering the cultural effect of individualistic and collectivistic cultures. A third aspect is the possible pragmatic transfer the subjects make while realizing the act of apologizing. For this, a bi-directional perspective has been considered, thereby enabling a backwards perspective. In other words, the effect that the first acquired language (L1) and the latter acquired language (L2) have on their pragmatic outcome, has been considered. In Figure 4 the aspects that shaped the analyses of the study are illustrated. As can be seen from the figure, the study is multidimensional due to the foci set.

Fig. 3: Determinant Aspects fort he Scope of Study



8.1 Research Questions

The study has been shaped around the following research questions in order to obtain preliminary data, as to the researcher's knowledge, a study focusing on this subject, does not exist.

- i. What apologizing strategies do Turkish-German bilinguals use?
- ii. What kind of strategies do they implement pragmalinguistically and on the sociopragmatic level? (Politeness orientation and facework strategies)
- iii. Do they make pragmatic transfer (positive, negative and bi-directional)?

8.2 Method

The method chosen for the research is of an explorative and descriptive nature and makes use of pragmatic research techniques. Here, data is collected from Turkish-German bilinguals using the *laboratory*⁴ method and has been analyzed descriptively comparing their usage in both Turkish and German.

In this method, the researcher uses various forms of elicitation techniques to prompt speakers to produce certain utterances. This method relies on the cooperation of informants. They are asked to imagine communicative situations and to state how they would behave in such situations or how they expect other people to behave in these situations (Jucker Andreas, H., 2009)

⁴This term is to describe the method that linguists apply when carrying out experiments in a laboratory to elicit data from appropriate subjects. This term was introduced along with others namely *armchair* and *field* by Clark and Bangerter (2004), all being ways of doing pragmatic research.

As Jucker (2009) points out subjects are asked to behave in an '*as if*' situation. He continues that such a way could be inferred as '*unnatural*' and '*artificial*'; however, due to the fact that this method delivers control of various variables for the researcher, it verifies its advantages in this respect.

8.3 Subjects

The target population of the data are young Turkish-German bilingual adults born and raised in Germany. Accordingly the sample of the study consists of 70 university students who were all Turkish-German bilinguals in their early twenties, as it was assumed that the acquisition of L1 and L2 has been completed on all linguistic levels.

8.4 Data Elicitation Tools

In order to collect data a range of DRPTs were designed including two apology settings. The settings were chosen out of a range of role-play-situations, designed for this study and had been piloted in speaking classes at the University of Duisburg-Essen in the department of Turcistics, for two semesters. Unlike the conventional DRPT, the design of the role-cards only requires the reaction to the situation without playing the interaction. More precisely, it prompts subjects' reaction to a certain situation. By doing so we aimed at concentrating on the realization of the particular speech act. Accordingly, the interaction in this discourse setting was not the focus of the study, for instance, if and how the act was perceived by the interlocution partner and his/her reaction to it was not recognized. Therefore, an elicitation of the responses of an interlocution partner has been excluded in this study. For the DRPT see Appx. A.

Another elicitation tool applied in this study was a questionnaire. Its purpose was to collect information about the subjects' Turkish acquisition / learning process: either only through family and/or through classes at school. Another concern of the questionnaire was the education backgrounds of the subjects' parents, as it is also assumed that the higher the level of education of the parents, the higher the bilingual pragmatic competence of their children. Thus, the questionnaire is an additional data collection instrument for further variables, providing demographic information about the subjects.

8.5 The Apology Settings and Its Variables

Out of two violation types, eight situations have been designed: the first violation type is that of *space* with the addressees being a same-aged person, a younger person, an elderly person and a professor at the university. The second violation type is that of *ignoring /not paying attention* with the addressees being your student, your same-aged colleague, your elder colleague, and your boss. Through these interlocution partners, the variability (intracultural, cross-cultural) was founded and the variables *social distance*, *relative power* and *imposition* have been determined.

8.6 Procedure

The instrument was administered to all subjects by the researcher. Instructions about how the role-play was going to take place were made verbally. The role-plays were played twice and video recorded: firstly in Turkish and secondly in German. In order to reduce the effect that the answers in one language might have on the other, a two-month break was made before the second video-recording of the other language took place. Moreover, four distracters were randomly included in the role-plays apart from the situations requiring an apology. The method of video recording was used in order to be able to consider paralinguistic data as well, as they constitute an essential part of

pragmatic competence. The difficulty of transcription of such data was solved by only regarding those elements that particularly had an effect on the act itself, as for example the hand movement in the “jumping-the-line” violation type reflected an offer-of-repair strategy at that moment in a non-verbal way. Furthermore, downgrading strategies that occurred due to tone of voice or mimes and gestures could also be considered.

In total, 1120 reactions were video-recorded. In the case of opted out role-cards the investigator asked for the reason and video-recorded the answer. The answers served as valuable ethnographic data as they showed the different reasons for not reacting; for instance, in one situation it was out of respect, while in the other it turned out to be a denial of fault, which is a strategy in diverse direction.

8.7 Data Analyses

The apologizing data consisting of 1120 reactions were transliterated and then placed into coding cards. For further analyses and data interpretation, each card was coded regarding subject, language and the situation.

A coding card with four information lines was developed. On this coding card the first line shows the reaction that was recorded in Turkish, divided into sections which point to an apologizing strategy. In the second line the certain apologizing strategies named are stated. Underneath the same structure for the same subject and the same situation for German is given. Accordingly the possibility was gained to compare both reactions in terms of strategy usage and pragmatic competence and pragmatic transfer. In the sections there is another differentiation concerning the Turkish data about the morphemes that were important in terms of both apologizing and politeness strategy. For the analyses morphemes and lexemes, which were relevant in terms of facework, were marked. Also included were noticeable pauses, prolonged sounds, and stress when audibly greater than normal and when they had an effect on the certain utterance. Non-verbal aspects were also comprised, as they constitute essential

data in terms of pragmatic ability. For an example of a coding sheet see Appx. E.

8.8 Limitations of the Study

It is important to stress that the explorative nature of this study which pays attention to a multidimensional issue, generates some limitations. The first is the problem of naturalness of the data. In this study, some of the previously neglected elements such as non-verbal features that affect the communication like gestures and mimes, hand movements etc. or tone of voice that directly affect the intention of the locutionary act, have been considered with the aid of video-recording. But for all that, the tool cannot resolve some of the problems of previous studies such as, for instance, whether in real life there would be an intention and/or need to apologize in such a situation, i.e. if the speaker would have really apologized or not. The environmental effects on the speaker could also not be addressed due to this laboratory method because of the non-existence of a real illocutionary partner and a real setting. Hence the tool serves to collect information on the ideal way that the speaker thinks or feels would be the most appropriate.

Another limitation is that only the reactions of the speakers were taken into account. The aim behind this was to only capture the time of producing the act that would include the speech act of apologizing. The researcher is also quite aware that the effect of being in front of a camera and having the feeling of being observed causes anxiety that could have affected the results. However, their volunteering and high motivation for this experiment leads the researcher to believe that this anxiety was at a minimum.

As for this study, the aim was to elaborate what apologizing strategies Turkish-German bilinguals actually apply and therefore, monolinguals were not included, which may constitute a further limitation. Certainly an inclusion of such a dimension would definitely have gone beyond the scope of this thesis.

Chapter IV

Findings, Conclusions and Implications

The analyses in this study concerning the apologizing strategies are based mainly on the coding manual which derived from the findings in the CCSARP⁵(see Appx. C). In addition to this, the taxonomy of Trosborg (1987), (see 7.2.2, 74) has also been considered and a synthesis was made while coding the data of this study in terms of apology strategies. For the notion of face and facework the propositions stated by Ting-Toomey (1998) in her *Face Negotiation Theory* have been taken into account including the cultural aspect of individualism and collectivism. The politeness aspect was analysed under the categories of *alerting which includes choice of addressing, tu-vous choice, formality and informality of preferred IFIDs and tone of voice*. The following chapter reviews the findings that have been obtained from the Turkish and German language data. Before stating the findings, some explanations about special aspects regarding the Turkish and German language that are relevant for this study will be explained in order to make the findings more transparent.

⁵ The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), which began in 1984, is a significant collaborative effort among linguists that aims to empirically study the speech acts of requests and apologies. The focus of the project is to study speech acts in terms of intracultural/situational variation, cross-cultural variation, and individual variation (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). Studies performed in coordination with the CCSARP have been typically completed through the use of a discourse completion test (DCT), or a written questionnaire that incorporates varying degrees of social distance and dominance. In addition to designing the DCT, the CCSARP developed a coding scheme in order to standardize the terminology used across the research.

9. Peculiarities and Special Aspects of the Findings in Turkish and German

9.1 The IFID ‘*kusura bakma*’ in Turkish

The utterance ‘*kusura bakma*’ needs to be explained as it is widely observed in this study and differs from other illocutionary force indicating devices. This IFID ‘*kusura bakma*’ directly asserts the offense and not the offender. A literal translation would be: *do not look at the mistake*;

[kusur-	a	bak-	ma]
mistake	case	look	negative
morpheme			

Hence, in this sense it would not be an IFID in English or German. The connection to the offense caused by the speaker is achieved with the 1.P.S possessive morpheme {Im}: *kusur{Im}a bakma*: *do not look at my mistake*;

[kusur-	Im-	A	bak-	mA]
mistake	1.P.S.poss	Case	look	nnegative
morpheme				

Accordingly, in Turkish we have to consider this act as an IFID because in Turkish both usages indicate force and have to be handled under this category.

9.2 Double Vous in Turkish

Vous marking in Turkish is made through the morphemes {In} and {Iz}. In terms of IFID use {In} and {Iz} can be observed in IFIDs that assert regret, as in *affedersin*{Iz} or *affed*{In} meaning ‘forgive me’. A special use of doubling the *vous* can sometimes be observed in the IFID *kusura bakma: kusura bakma* (y){In}{Iz} and *affed*{In}{Iz} . We assume that this doubling is preferred for politeness purposes. This kind of doubling can only appear in the morphological order {In} + {Iz} and can therefore only be used in cases in which the *vous* form {In} appears first. In other words, while usages like; *kusura bakma* (y){In}{Iz} and *affed*{In}{Iz} are possible, *affeder*{sIn}{Iz} indicates only one *vous* and a doubling is not possible; **affeder*{sIn}{Iz}{In}.

9.3 The particle ‘ya’ in Turkish

The particle ‘*ya*’ makes a very interesting appearance in the Turkish language and has to be given special attention for the sake of transparency in this study. The ‘*ya*’ *particle* is observed as an intensifier of the IFID which can be used either directly before or after an IFID. A double use, before and after at the same time has also been observed. The intensifying function of this particle lies in its meaning when used in such a context. Here ‘*ya*’ has a pitying connotation that implies the desperateness of the occurrence. It intensifies the IFID by implying the hopelessness of the unintentionally committed offense.

9.4 {mIf} Marker

In this data a special occurrence regarding the apology strategies is observed, which is achieved by the use of the {mIf} marker of evidentiality. There are many views in the theory of modality about the functions of {mIf}, which cannot all be taken into consideration within the scope of this research; thus, a working description of this marker has been utilized. Accordingly, {mIf} in this study is found to be in the category of *reflected evidence* (Gül, 2006:181). In this view, *‘when the speaker perceives the result or sign of a situation, then he may use it as evidence for a particular event. Consequently, the reflected evidence belongs to the speaker’s own conscious, which makes it personal’* (ibid.181). Subsequently, {mIf} as a marker for evidential modality appears in this data as a semantic aspect of not witnessing the whole event in the apology strategy of *taking on responsibility*. Such a distinction is gained from the notion of the *retrospective reflected evidence* subcategory (ibid.181). Here the subjects apply this marker to indicate both not having witnessed the exact moment of the occurrence and context-dependently indicating a certain lack of intent; thus, providing a double-strategy usage in one utterance regarding the apology. For example, in an utterance such as [özür dilerim sıranızı **al-{mIf}-ım** buyrun geçin]: [I apologize, **I have (apparently) jumped the line**, after you], the subject uses the {mIf} marker in this utterance; and although, warned by the complainee about the offense, stresses that no offense was intended by signaling his/her unawareness at the moment of violation. Such a modality does not exist in German in this form and the subjects’ attempts to imply this modality with lexemes in their German utterances like; *anscheinend, angeblich* (*apparently*) do not convey the exact semantic content (for details see pp.101,110,119,129).

9.5 “Entschuldigung” and “Schuldigung”

The German IFID *Entschuldigung* meaning *sorry* in the usage we observed in this study, is frequently used in its short form *Schuldigung* achieved by dropping the prefix {ent}. This prefix is used to show the disaggregation from something. Accordingly the prefix {ent} in *Entschuldigung*, is used to delineate the noun *Schuld* meaning fault or guilt. In other words it gives the noun the meaning of without; without guilt or without fault. In the colloquial use {ent} is omitted in most of the cases for the purpose of making least amount of effort, as the morpheme {ent} is always unstressed.

9.6 “Ich entschuldige mich”, “entschuldige mich” and “Entschuldigen Sie”

In these usages we observe that in *entschuldige mich* the subject is omitted. We assume that this use is either for the sake of making the least amount of effort especially in a situation in which the IFID is used in a colloquial way or because the subjects make negative pragmatic transfer from Turkish to German, as the subject function is already present in the verb in Turkish. As far as the usage of *entschuldigen Sie* is concerned the imperative form of ‘*entschuldigen*’ in combination with the vous form *Sie* is observed. The subjects use this form especially in combination with a *dass* conjunction in order to state the offense; *entschuldigen Sie, dass ich Ihnen den Platz weggenommen habe* which can be translated as *apologize that I have jumped the line*.

9.7 “Es tut mir leid” , “Das tut mir leid” and “Tut mir leid”

The IFIDs *es tut mir leid*, *das tut mir leid* and *tut mir leid* meaning *I am sorry (for it/that)* need to be explained. The first two differ in reference in other words, the *es* in *es tut mir leid* may or may not assert a specific subject as the subject *es* is an empty one, whereas the *das* in *das tut mir leid* definitely asserts a specific subject. Here we observe an anaphoric use as far as the function is

concerned. The version *tut mir leid* in which the subject is omitted stands for a colloquial use.

In the following sections the findings of the data will be discussed. For the purpose of distinctiveness, the situation and interlocution partner will be given in the headings using abbreviations, in which the situation will be stated first followed by its addressee.

These abbreviations are listed below consistent with the order of data analysis:

- *Jumping the line, same-aged person*: JmpLne-S.Aged
- *Jumping the line, elderly person around sixty*: JmpLne-ElderlyP
- *Jumping the line, university teacher*: JmpLne-UniTCH
- *Jumping the line, child at the age of ten*: JmpLne-Chld
- *Ignoring, same-aged colleague*: Ignr-S.Aged-Collg
- *Ignoring, elderly colleague around sixty*: Ignr-Elderly-Collg
- *Ignoring, your boss*: Ignr-Boss
- *Ignoring, your student*: Ignr-Stud

10. Findings Concerning the ‘Jumping the Line’

Situation

The following sections detail the findings on the situations which are marked with the ‘jumping-a-line’ violation type featuring four addressees that have been offended, namely: *a same-aged person*, *an elderly person around sixty*, *your university teacher* and *a child* at the age of ten.

10.1 Addressee: Same-Aged

10.1.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-S.Aged

In this situation many preferred IFIDs belong to the categories of ‘*an expression of an apology*’ and ‘*an expression of regret*’. As far as the use of ‘*an expression of apology*’ is concerned, it is evident from the data that the uses of ‘*kusura bakma / {In}*’⁶ and ‘*özür dilerim*’ occur equally in number followed immediately by the expression ‘*pardon*’. As far as the German ‘*expressions of apology*’ are concerned the most frequently used apology is ‘*Schuldigung*’ followed by the expressions ‘*Entschuldigung*’ ‘*Entschuldigen Sie*’ and ‘*Entschuldige mich*’.

In the ‘*an expression of regret*’ category, it can be observed that these types of expressions are generally adopted in German and not used once in Turkish. The most frequently used German expression is ‘*tut mir leid*’ followed by its variation with an empty subject ‘*es tut mir leid*’. The informal usage ‘*sorry*’ and the other variation of ‘*tut mir leid*’, i.e. ‘*das tut mir leid*’ is preferred more often as not.

⁶ *Vous* marker in Turkish

The ‘*expression of forgiveness*’ is not observed at any time in German; but, appears on rare occasions in Turkish where the expression ‘*affedersin/ {Iz}*’⁷ is used.

Tables 3 and 5 illustrate the findings concerning the Turkish IFID preferences in numbers. Evidence for the IFID usage in German is displayed in Tables 4 and 6.

Table 3: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Özür dilerim (I apologize)</i>	24
<i>Kusura bakma (do not look at the mistake)</i>	24
<i>Pardon (pardon)</i>	18

Table 4: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Schuldigung (apologies)(colloquial)</i>	20
<i>Entschuldigung (I apologize)</i>	9
<i>Entschuldigen Sie (I apologize)(vous marker)</i>	2
<i>Entschuldige mich (I apologize myself) (colloquial)</i>	1

⁷ *Vous* marker in Turkish

Table 5: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin (forgive me)</i>	3

Table 6: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid (I am sorry)</i>	17
<i>Es tut mir leid(I am sorry)</i>	9
<i>Sorry (sorry)</i>	6
<i>Das tut mir leid (I am sorry)</i>	2

10.1.2 Tu–Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-S.Aged

Concerning the age variable in this situation, the data indicates that the ‘*tu*’ - *vous*’ preference is vague in both languages. In the Turkish context it would be normal, although the people are the same-aged, to prefer the *vous* marker even if the interlocutors are not acquainted.

As far as the German data is concerned Table 8 shows that the ‘*vous*’ adoption is less than in the Turkish data. This is typical for the German context, as German students do not use ‘*vous*’ in their daily interlocution when they know or assume that the interlocution partner could be a student as well, even if they are not acquainted. However, because of the random usage of ‘*tu*’ and ‘*vous*’, neither the Turkish nor the German data represent an overall picture of the

awareness of this difference in such a situation. Table 7 provides the numbers of ‘tu’ - ‘vous’ usage, in both languages in this situation.

Table 7: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	16	24	23
<i>German</i>	20	20	18

*Refers to situations in which the intention of tu or vous is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

10.1.3 Findings Concerning the Intensification and Downgrading of IFID in JmpLne-S.Aged

The majority of the cases in this data show that intensification mostly takes place through ‘*exclamations*’. The use of ‘*adverbs*’ is very minimal in both languages in this situation; accordingly, the use of ‘*bitte*’ in German as an intensifier is almost never observed.

A special use that is observed as far as the Turkish data is concerned is that of the particle ‘*ya*’. Having a pitying meaning in this context, it is used either before or after an IFID to intensify it, such as, for instance, ‘*ya kusura bakma*’, ‘*kusura bakma ya*’ or both ‘*ya kusura bakma ya*’ in which a double intensification is revealed.

In Table 8, an overall distribution of intensification means for both languages is shown.

Table 8: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German

Intensification means	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Exclamations</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Use of 'bitte' (please)</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1</i>

As far as the downgrading is concerned we sometimes observed the strategy of *pretending not to have noticed the offense*, in the Turkish data (five times) and hardly ever (twice) in the German data.

10.1.4 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-S.Aged

The most common strategies observed in terms of taking on responsibility for the offense are *'justification'* and *'the explicit statement of violation'*. Making a justification falls into the category of *'accepting the offense but not taking on responsibility for it'*. Although an IFID is observed in the reaction in that particular situation, it is mostly followed by a justification. The *lack of intent* strategy is sometimes observed in both the Turkish and the German data. The *denial of fault*, *attacking the complainer* and *explicit self-blame* strategies hardly ever occur in the Turkish and on no occasion in the German data.

As far as the use of Turkish is concerned the data shows a special use of modality achieved by the use of morpheme *{mI}* in both strategies. With the use of *{mI}*, a mitigation of the explicit statement of violation and the justification is achieved as this modality bears the meaning of unawareness until the moment of realization (see p.94). In our opinion, this kind of use is more self-face saving than using the direct form. Moreover, by adopting this morpheme the interlocutor gains the possibility to imply *'lack of intent'*. In other words, a double strategy in one expression is achieved; the violator both

states the violation explicitly and mitigates it by using *{mI}* modality implying lack of intent as well. In the German usages, such mitigation is achieved through expressions like '*anscheinend*': 'anscheinend habe ich deinen Platz weggenommen' [I apparently have jumped the line] or '*angeblich*': 'angeblich habe ich es nicht bemerkt' [I apparently did not realize it]. These expressions have in contrast to the Turkish usage a highly face-threatening function to the hearer as they doubt the offense.

The strategies of '*implicit statement of violation, justify the hearer, expression of embarrassment, and blaming someone else*' were not observed at any time. Table 9 illustrates the figures of the *taking on responsibility* strategies.

Table 9: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

<i>Strategies</i>		<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	<i>Direct</i>	5	6
	<i>With {mI}</i>	7	
<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>		0	0
<i>Lack of Intent</i>		7	9
<i>Explicit self blame</i>		1	0
<i>Justify the hearer</i>		0	0
<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>		0	0
<i>Denial of fault</i>		5	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Direct</i>	28
		<i>With {mI}</i>	
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>		0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		0

10.1.5 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-S.Aged

In the whole data, paralinguistic elements have been considered while elaborating apologizing strategies. Therefore non-verbal elements such as ‘*To make space*’, or ‘*a hand movement indicating to take space in the line*’ were also generated and taken into account as strategies of offer of repair. In Table 10 the *verbal* and *non-verbal* results are listed.

Table 10: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Verbal</i>	22	29
<i>Non-verbal</i>	18	11

Analysis of Table 10 indicates that *verbal offers of repair* are used most as a rule followed by *non-verbal offers of repair* which are adopted more often than not.

10.1.6 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in JmpLne-S.Aged

As far as ‘no reactions’ as a strategy is concerned, we observed five ‘no reactions’ in Turkish which denote a rare use, but, none in German. Regarding the *same-aged* addressee, the reason for using this strategy lies in ignoring and not caring, which was ascertained from the answers given by the subjects. Table 11 illustrates this with the results:

Table 11: No Reactions in Turkish and German

'No reaction' in Turkish Freq.	Reasons given for 'no reaction'	'No reaction' in German Freq.	Reasons given for 'no reaction'
5	Would not care	0	
	Would not care		
	Would not care		
	Would not care		
	Would ignore to prevent a fight		

10.2 Addressee: Elderly person around sixty

10.2.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-ElderlyP

In comparison to the first situation marked with the '*same aged*' variable, we observed that the IFIDs preferred in the situation marked with the '*elderly person*' variable are not informal, e.g. '*sorry*' is not used at all. The rate of the usage of forgiveness expressions is interestingly higher compared to the '*same aged person*' situation in which such an expression is never observed. This finding denotes that the subjects are aware of the formality of IFID in such a context, as is visible in Tables 12, 13, 14 and 15.

Table 12: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	43
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In}</i>	18
<i>pardon</i>	10
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	4
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In{Iz}}(double vous)</i>	1

Table 13: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	9
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	9
<i>Schuldigung</i>	3
<i>Schuldigen Sie</i>	1

Table 14: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin{Iz}</i>	5
<i>Verzeihen Sie</i>	4
<i>Verzeihung</i>	5

Table 15: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	18
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	5
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	5
<i>Sorry</i>	0

10.2.2 Tu–Vous Preference in JmpLne-ElderlyP

The high usage of the ‘vous’ form shows that the subjects are aware that there must be a distinction as compared to the situation marked with the ‘same-aged’ variable where the ‘tu’ and ‘vous’ usage is ambiguous. As far as the German data is concerned, it is observed that the subjects prefer the ‘vous’ form without any exception. Accordingly in the Turkish data the usage of ‘tu’ is observed rarely. Interestingly enough, in these cases we observed a connection to the pragmatically wrong use of alerters in Turkish, which let us assume that the subjects either are not aware of the inappropriateness of such alerters in this context or they imagined that they were using the alerters in front of an appropriate person during the experiment. In Table 17 a detailed distribution of alerters is given and Table 16 provides the numbers of ‘tu’-‘vous’ usages in both languages in this situation.

Table 16: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>Double Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	4	51	1	11
<i>German</i>	0	48	-	15

*Refers to situations in which the intention of tu or vous is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

10.2.3 Alerters in **JmpLne-ElderlyP**

Generally speaking we can say that there is a pragmatic failure in the usage of alerters in Turkish. In some of the cases, the alerters used are not appropriate for the university context. In particular, the ones that point to a kinship show that the subjects do not know how to address an elderly person whom they do not know in such a context. We can interpret that the subjects may have pictured the addressee as an old man dressed as a person from the rural area, which would then require such an address form. The reason for such an image may lie in the fact that most of the old Turkish people living in Germany belong to the first generation migrants who emigrated from the rural parts of Turkey. Quite interesting is that the ‘*tu*’ usages in Turkish are observed in combination with this pragmatically wrong use of alerters that point to a kinship, for instance, ‘*amcacım*’ can be translated as ‘*my dear uncle*’. If as is assumed, the subjects that preferred kinship alerters imagined an old person that comes from a rural area and is probably clothed like that, then such a usage would not point to a pragmatic failure. It would be just the opposite - this usage would be appropriate, as from a cultural point of view, kinship terms in

combination with the 'tu' form are preferred for addressing people from rural areas. The expressions 'hanımefendi, hanfendi' are also overused probably with the intention to be more polite. The address form 'efendim' is the only one which might be acceptable in this situation, yet with regard to the German data the subjects never used an alerter of any kind. Table 17 illustrates the alerters used.

Table 17: Alerters in Turkish

Frequency of Alerters in Turkish	
<i>Amcacım (my dear uncle)</i>	2
<i>Amcacım or yengecim (my dear uncle or my dear aunt)</i>	1
<i>Bey amca (Mr. Uncle)</i>	1
<i>Efendim (sir/madam)</i>	4
<i>Hanımefendi (madam)/ Hanfendi (madam)</i>	2
Frequency of Alerters in German	
Not Observed	

10.2.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of IFID in JmpLne-ElderlyP

IFID internal intensification is seen in both languages; however the exclamation use is striking in German compared to Turkish where the high usage of adverbs is observed. The pitying particle ‘*ya*’ in Turkish is also used in this case. The application of ‘*bitte*’ as an intensifier is seldom used as is seen in Table 18.

Table 18: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	13	4
<i>Exclamations</i>	3	14
<i>Use of ‘ya’</i>	9	-
<i>Use of ‘bitte’</i>	-	3

10.2.5 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-ElderlyP

The most used strategy in the category ‘taking on responsibility for the offense’ is ‘*justification*’ in both languages followed by the ‘*explicit statement of the violation*’ strategy. Compared to the situation marked with the ‘same-aged’ variable the indirect use of the morpheme {*mI*} is also observed in both strategies. While highly self-face saving the {*mI*} use in these situations states the *point of realization*, the *lack of intent* and the *justification* in one utterance.

For instance, in the utterance

[farket-	me-	miş-	im]
realize	neg	mod	1st P.Sg

the violator mitigates the offense by making a justification that is not directly connected to the speaker, but implies that until the point of realization of the violation, the offense was not intended. In the German utterances such a modality is not observed, as it does not exist in this form, e.g.

[ich	hab's	nicht	gemerkt]
I	have	not	realized

The '*lack of intent*' strategy used in a separate utterance is seldom used in either Turkish and German followed by the '*denial of fault*' and '*attacking the complainer*' strategies which are observed only once in Turkish and on no occasion in German. Table 19 states the figures of the strategies.

Table 19: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

<i>Strategies</i>		<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	<i>Direct</i>	12	8
	<i>With {mI}</i>	4	
<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>		0	0
<i>Lack of Intent</i>		3	2
<i>Explicit self blame</i>		0	0
<i>Justify the hearer</i>		0	0
<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>		0	0
<i>Denial of fault</i>		1	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Direct</i> 21	16
		<i>With {mI}</i> 6	
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>		0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		1

10.2.6 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-ElderlyP

Comparing Table 10 and 20 it can be identified that the use of ‘*verbal offer-of-repair*’ strategies such as in German [*Sie dürfen vor*] or in Turkish [*buyrun*] meaning [*you may go ahead*], [*after you*] was habitually preferred in this case. The use of ‘*non-verbal offer-of-repair*’ strategies is applied parallel to the situation with the same-aged person more often than not.

Table 20: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

	<i>Freq. in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq. in German</i>
<i>Verbal</i>	30	32
<i>Non-verbal</i>	15	8

10.2.7 Findings Concerning the ‘*No Reaction*’ Strategy in JmpLne-ElderlyP

In the interlocution with an elderly person this strategy is scarcely seen in Turkish and never in German. Furthermore the reasons stated attest to their lack of confidence in such a situation.

Table 21: No Reactions in Turkish and German

'No Reaction' in Turkish Freq.	Reasons for 'No reaction'	'No Reaction' in German Freq.	Reasons for 'No reaction'
3	I don't know	0	
	I think it would be disrespectful		
	I don't know		

10.3 Addressee: University Teacher

10.3.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH

The findings in Tables 22, 23, 24 and 25 suggest that the IFID distribution in both languages presents a highly formal picture. Informal usages like *'sorry'* and *'schuldigung'* are hardly ever used compared to the other situations marked with the 'same-aged person and elderly person' variables. In the reactions that do not present any IFID the formality and repair work is given through the offer of repair which is intensified through *'bitte'* and *'ruhig'* and *'vous'* preference. Furthermore, the use of *'tu'* is observed on no occasion. It is also interesting that the expression of forgiveness *'affedersin'* marked with *'vous'* is commonly used in this case; we assume that the subjects aim at being more polite through its usage.

Table 22: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	19
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In}</i>	20
<i>pardon</i>	11

Table 23: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	12
<i>Schuldigung</i>	7
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	5
<i>Schuldigen Sie</i>	0

Table 24: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin{Iz}</i>	14
<i>Verzeihen Sie</i>	0
<i>Verzeihung</i>	2

Table 25: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	20
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	9
<i>Sorry</i>	2
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	2

10.3.2 Tu-Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-UniTCH

As stated before the style of language in this case is formal and this is achieved among other ways, through the use of the ‘vous’ form. The use of ‘tu’ is never observed and we assume that in the reactions where the intention is not marked grammatically, the subject would probably have preferred ‘vous’ as the style of language is quite formal.

Table 26: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>Double Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	0	58	1	8
<i>German</i>	0	46	-	15

*Refers to situations in which the intention of tu or vous is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

10.3.3 The Alerters in JmpLne-UniTCH

The use of the alerter '*hocam*' which can be translated literally as '*my master*' and which is the appropriate address form for a university teacher is most frequently used. The German data provides very rare address forms which could be due to the fact that the subjects had to invent surnames for their imaginary university teacher as the role card did not supply information on an imaginary addressee and therefore avoided the usage of alerters.

Table 27 represents the figures of alerters in this case.

Table 27: Frequency of Alerters in Turkish and German

<i>Hocam (my master)</i>	62
<i>Surname German</i>	5

10.3.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH

The findings concerning the intensification of the IFID show that adverbs are barely used in either German or Turkish. However, we observed the frequent use of exclamations in German again. Compared to the other DRPT reactions, the data also indicated that the use of the '*ya*' particle as an intensifier is not favored in an interlocution situation with a university teacher. This can also be a sign of the awareness of the informality and inappropriateness of '*ya*' in this context as an intensifier. Table 28 shows the results.

Table 28: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	6	4
<i>Exclamations</i>	3	20
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	2	-
<i>Use of 'bitte'</i>	-	2

10.3.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of IFID in JmpLne-UniTCH

In terms of downgrading, although low in use we observe that the quality of downgrading in Turkish is different than in German. In the Turkish data, the downgrading relates more to the offended person and is highly face threatening to him/her, whereas the nature of the German downgraders is more self-oriented and only one is highly face-threatening (irony). There is no meaningful relatedness between the language and use; in other words when the subjects preferred a downgrading in Turkish the same was not observed by the same subject in German. Table 29 gives an insight into the downgrading strategies in German and Turkish.

Table 29: Downgrading in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Irony</i>	5	1
<i>Pretending not have noticed</i>	0	2
<i>the offense</i>		

10.3.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German in JmpLne-UniTCH

The most favored strategy in both German and Turkish is, as Table 30 suggests, *making a justification*. The direct use of a justification is often used whereas the mitigated form with {*mIf*} modality is rarely observed. The ‘justification’ strategy is followed, in terms of use, by the ‘*explicit statement of violation*’ strategy which is only used in Turkish and does not occur in German. In Turkish the direct and {*mIf*} modality usages are occasionally observed. Another mitigating device used in this strategy is the free morpheme ‘*galiba*’ meaning ‘*perhaps*’ casting doubt on the statement, and which like {*mIf*} is rather self-face saving. The ‘*Lack of intent*’ strategy is observed on some occasions in both languages. We hardly ever observed the ‘attacking the complainer’ strategy. The strategies of taking on responsibility; ‘*Explicit self blame, justify the hearer, expression of embarrassment, denial of fault, blaming someone else*’ are never observed.

Table 30: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

<i>Strategies</i>		<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	<i>Direct</i>	7	0
	<i>With {mI}</i>	8	
	<i>With 'galiba'</i>	2	
<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>		0	0
<i>Lack of Intent</i>		3	2
<i>Explicit self blame</i>		0	0
<i>Justify the hearer</i>		0	0
<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>		0	0
<i>Denial of fault</i>		0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Direct</i>	27
		<i>With {mI}</i>	
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>		0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		1

10.3.7 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in JmpLne-UniTCH

As Table 31 indicates *verbal offers of repair* are used repeatedly, whereas *non-verbal offers of repair* are used seldom compared to the situations marked with different variables.

Table 31: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Verbal</i>	23	28
<i>Non-verbal</i>	7	1

10.3.8 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in JmpLne-UniTCH

In this situation we observed that subjects would not use the strategy of *no reaction* in the interlocution with their university teacher. Only two subjects stated that they would not react to their university teacher in Turkish, one of which was because of not knowing how to. None would in German. Table 32 illustrates the results with the given reasons.

Table 32: No Reactions in Turkish and German

'No Reaction' in Turkish Freq.	Reasons for 'No reaction'	'No Reaction' in German Freq.	Reasons for 'No reaction'
2	I would not know what to say to my university teacher	0	
	I would not give him the place in the line even if he is a professor		

10.4 Addressee: Child at the age of ten

10.4.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in JmpLne-Chld

As is displayed in Tables 33 the most commonly used expressions of apologies in the Turkish data are '*kusura bakma* and *özür dilerim*. The use of *pardon* is sometimes seen and the *vous* version of *kusura bakma* only appears once, but with an ironic intonation, which is explained in 10.4.2, p. 124. While in Turkish a frequent use of expressions of apology is observed, the use of expressions of regrets in German is common. *Tut mir leid* is the most used followed by *das tut mir leid*. The expressions of apology *Schuldigung* and *Entschuldigung* are observed now and then. An expression of regret is rarely seen in Turkish and never in German.

Table 33: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	19
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	18
<i>pardon</i>	4
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In} with an ironic intonation</i>	1

Table 34: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Schuldigung</i>	6
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	4
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	0
<i>Schuldigen Sie</i>	0

Table 35: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin</i>	4
<i>Verzeihen Sie</i>	0
<i>Verzeihung</i>	0

Table 36: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	15
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	2
<i>Das tut mir aber leid (with stress on aber⁸)</i>	4
<i>Sorry</i>	3
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	1

10.4.2 Tu-Vous Preference in Turkish and German in JmpLne-Chld

Both the German and the Turkish data suggest that ‘vous’ is scarcely ever used. ‘Vous’ is only observed once in the Turkish data and is marked with an ironic intonation, while in the German data it is never observed. This finding indicates that children are not addressed with ‘vous’ in either culture and the subjects are quite aware of this fact. Furthermore, in the one case where ‘vous’ is used, the ironic intonation reflects a superficial severity to minimise the violation. Table 37 shows the figures.

⁸ See 10.4.4, p.127 for details

Table 37: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	63	1	5
<i>German</i>	58	0	7

*Refers to situations in which the intention of tu or vous is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

10.4.3 Alerters in JmpLne-Chld

As far as the data in both languages is concerned, it is observed that in the interlocution with a child, the use of endearment terms for addressing is preferred. Interestingly, the use of endearment terms as alerters varies more in Turkish than in German. In other words, there are more types of endearment usages directed to the child in the Turkish data than in the German one. As seen from Table 38 the multiplicity as far as the terms in Turkish are concerned is vast compared to the German data. Furthermore, the frequency of using an endearment term is higher in Turkish than in German.

Table 38: Alerters in Turkish and German

Endearment Terms in Turkish	<i>Freq.</i>
Canım (my dear)	12
Canım benim (my dear my)	2
Ufaklık (little)	5
Tatlım (sweetie)	1
Küçük (little)	1
Küçük kardeş (little sibling)	1
Kardeşim (with anger) (my sibling)	1
Şekerim (my sweetie)	1
Total in Turkish	24
Endearment Terms in German	<i>Freq.</i>
Kleiner ⁹ (little)	5
Kleiner Mann (little man)	2
Kleine ¹⁰ (little)	2
Süße ¹¹ (sweetie)	2
Kleine/Kleiner ¹² (little)	1
Total in German	12

⁹ Masculine marker

¹⁰ Feminine marker

¹¹ Feminine marker

¹² Masculine and feminine marker

10.4.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in JmpLne-Chld

The intensification of the apologizing through *adverbs*, *exclamations* and ‘*ya*’ use in Turkish is less frequent here than in the other situations. This may be due to the fact that the intensification is made through the endearment terms and the high-pitched voice that is used when talking to a child.

However, the exclamation usage is still higher in German than in Turkish. Moreover, adverbs are not used at any time in German to intensify the IFID. Another intensification means used in this case, albeit, seldom, is the use of “*aber*” [das tut mir *aber* leid: I am sorry *though*] within the IFID. The results are represented in Table 39.

Table 39: Frequency of Intensification in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	3	0
<i>Exclamations</i>	6	15
<i>Use of ‘ya’</i>	6	-
<i>Use of ‘bitte’</i>	-	0
<i>Use of ‘aber’</i>	-	4

10.4.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of the IFID in JmpLne-Chld

The findings on downgrading the offense in this case are represented in Table 40. It is visible in Table 40 that the use of face-threatening downgraders is only occasionally observed but still more than in the cases with the different addressees. The data indicates that in German that the use of *sarcasm* is seen on rare occasions, whereas in Turkish it is barely ever observed. *Pretending not to have noticed the offense* is the downgrading strategy used most in both languages. As displayed in Table 40, humor is seen only once in German and on no occasion in Turkish. A paralinguistic aspect that is observed in the data is the high-pitched voice that the subjects used while interacting with a child. We interpret the high-pitched voices used in this situation as a sign of belittling, which, subsequently, can be seen as a strategy of minimizing the effect of the offense. This strategy was used by all of the subjects without any exception in both languages.

Table 40: Frequency of Downgrading in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
<i>Sarcasm</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Pretending not have noticed the offense</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Humor</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>High-pitched voice</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>69</i>

10.4.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in JmpLne-Chld

Comparing Tables 9, 19, 30 and 41, we observe the same picture, as far as *taking on responsibility strategies* are concerned. However, unlike the other tables, data in Table 41 suggest that *Explicit Statement of violation* and *making a justification* are used equally in Turkish. A closer inspection indicates that these strategies are rarely used in German in this case. The strategies of *justify the hearer* and *attacking the complainer* are seldom observed in Turkish and on no occasion in German.

Table 41: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

<i>Strategies</i>		<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	<i>Direct</i>	7	2
	<i>With {mI}</i>	4	
	<i>With 'galiba'</i>	0	
<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>		0	0
<i>Lack of Intent</i>		0	3
<i>Explicit self blame</i>		0	0
<i>Justify the hearer</i>		2	2
<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>		0	0
<i>Denial of fault</i>		0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Direct</i>	0
		<i>With {mI}</i>	
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>		0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		0

10.4.7 Findings Concerning the Offer of Repair in JmpLne-Chld

As detailed in Table 42, *verbal offers of repair* are used repeatedly, whereas *non-verbal offers of repair* are used seldom in Turkish and hardly ever in German.

Table 42: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

	<i>Freq. in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq. in German</i>
<i>Verbal</i>	34	30
<i>Non-verbal</i>	11	1

10.4.8 Findings Concerning the Strategy ‘No Reaction’ in JmpLne-Chld

The data shows that this strategy is never applied in the interlocution with a child.

Table 43: No Reactions in Turkish and German

‘No Reaction’ in Turkish	Reasons for ‘No reaction’	‘No Reaction’ in German	Reasons for ‘No reaction’
Freq.		Freq.	
0		0	

11. Findings Concerning the Situation ‘Ignoring’

In the following sections, the findings of the situations which are marked with the violation type of ‘ignoring a person’s small talk’ provided with four addressees namely: *your same aged colleague*, *an elderly colleague of yours*, *your boss* and *your student* are distributed.

11.1 Addressee: Same-aged colleague

11.1.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

As far as the IFID use is concerned, it is very interesting that the Turkish data has more IFIDs than the German data. What is also interesting is that we have more than one IFID use in one reaction. Moreover, the German data shows that in the case of IFID use *an expression of regret* is preferred whereas in Turkish the frequent use of *an expression of apology*: *kusura bakma* is favored. Figuratively, it is observed that in Turkish *an expression of an apology* is frequently used while in German this usage is barely observed, as illustrated in Tables 44 and 45. Instead, the German data shows a frequent usage of *an expression of regret* which is listed in Table 46. *An expression of forgiveness* is never used in German and hardly ever in Turkish (see Table 47).

Table 44: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	45
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	19
<i>Kusuruma bakma</i>	1
<i>pardon</i>	5

Table 45: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Schuldigung</i>	4
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	1
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	0
<i>Schuldigen Sie</i>	0

Table 46: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	18
<i>Sorry</i>	5
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	11
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	1

Table 47: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish and German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin</i>	1
<i>Verzeihen Sie</i>	0
<i>Verzeihung</i>	0

11.1.2 Tu- Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

Vous is barely used in either Turkish or in German. Only one subject in Turkish and one subject in German preferred the *vous* use in this case; however these subjects did not apply the same use to the other language, so there are no parallels between the languages. The frequent use of *tu*, in by almost all the subjects, show that they prefer the *tu* use in both cultures, when talking to a same-aged colleague.

Table 48: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	66	53	3
<i>German</i>	53	1	9

*Refers to situations in which the intention of *tu* or *vous* is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

11.1.3 Alerters in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

The German and the Turkish data show that the use of alerters is not frequently preferred. Endearment terms are hardly ever used in both data. However, as also illustrated in Table 49, subjects preferred attention getters at times in German, whereas in Turkish they seldom used alerters in this form.

Table 49: Alerters in Turkish and German

<i>Endearment terms in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Canım (my dear)</i>	1
<i>Kardeş (sibling)</i>	1
Total	<u>2</u>
<i>Endearment terms in German</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Schatz (dear)</i>	1
Total	<u>1</u>
<i>Attention Getters in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Merhaba (Hello)</i>	1
<i>Aaa Ali (Exclamation+name)</i>	1
<i>Naaber ya nasılsın?(What's up how are you?)</i>	1
Total	3
<i>Attention Getters in German</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Hej (Hey)</i>	3
<i>Hej hör mal (hey listen)</i>	3
<i>Hej du (hey you)</i>	1
<i>Hej schau mal (hey look)</i>	1
<i>Hi (hi)</i>	1
<i>Oh hallo (Exclamation+hello)</i>	1
<i>Was los Kollege (lit. 'What's up colleague?')</i>	1
Total	11

11.1.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

As far as the intensification of the IFID is concerned in this situation, we observed that exclamations and adverbs are seldom used in both languages, whereas we observed a frequent use of adverbs and exclamations in the other *jumping the line* violation type. From this finding we may conclude that the subjects might not have had the need to intensify the IFID when taking this violation into consideration. In particular, the exclamation form of intensification turns out to be a means to intensify the unawareness of the violation at the moment of being indicated to it, which does not explain the seldom use of adverbs in this case. On the other hand, the Turkish data evidences that the particle 'ya' is often used. The reason for this may be due to the fact that 'ya' has a pitying effect and minimizes the intention for the violation that occurred before. Table 50 illustrates the findings regarding the intensification in the interlocution with the same-aged colleague. Referring to the external intensification, we observed a rare use in both languages. Concern for the hearer and appeal to the hearer's understanding has been observed respectively four times in Turkish and only on one occasion in each case in German.

Table 50: Intensification in Turkish and German

Intensification means	Turkish Freq.	German Freq.
<i>Adverbs</i>	4	1
<i>Exclamations</i>	1	1
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	26	-
<i>Use of 'bitte'</i>	-	0
<i>Use of 'lütfe'</i>	1	-

11.1.5 Findings Concerning the Downgrading of the IFID in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

Throughout the whole data *downgrading* is observed as strategy that is not preferred, and which is almost never used in the interlocution with a same-aged colleague.

11.1.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

As far as the strategy of *taking on responsibility* is concerned, we have a marked difference in stating the responsibility in both languages. Firstly, the frequency in stating the violation explicitly in Turkish occurs more often than in German. Here we observe, although low in use, the implicit statement in German which is used more frequently than in Turkish. Another strategy which is used generally is the strategy of making *justification* which falls under the category of *accepting the offense or facts but not taking on responsibility*. In both data we observe a habitual use of this strategy.

In contrast to the other violation type namely *jumping the line* in which we had the mitigating use of *{mİf}* and sometimes ‘*galiba*’ meaning perhaps, in this case, we observed a threefold aim in using adverbials. The first is to mitigate the responsibility while stating the violation explicitly which has a face threatening function to the hearer by doing self-oriented facework. The second is to intensify the justification made which is again face-threatening to the hearer by doing self-oriented facework. The third notion that is observed is the mitigating of the justification which is again very self-face oriented.

In stating the violation explicitly, the subjects prefer mitigators in Turkish like *pek*: rather, *pek fazla*: rather more, *fazla*: much, *çok*: a lot and in German: *so richtig*: really much, *so viel*: so much, *bisschen*: a little. The adverbials used to intensify and mitigate the justification in German are: *Richtig*: really, *leider*: unfortunately, *sehr*: very, *bisschen*: a little and in Turkish: *birazcık*: a bit, *biraz*: slightly.

Table 51: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

	<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
	<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	42	19
	<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>	5	10
	<i>Lack of Intent</i>	0	0
	<i>Explicit self blame</i>	0	1
	<i>Justify the hearer</i>	0	0
	<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>	0	0
	<i>Denial of fault</i>	0	0
	<i>Justification</i>	47	41
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>	0	0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>	0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>			

11.1.7 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

In the analyses, it was observed that there are different kinds of offers-of-repair that can be self-face oriented or other-face oriented. Some of the ‘offer-of-repair’ tendencies are also very face-threatening in nature in both Turkish and German. The uses with *conditional sentences and asking a question* are generally other-face oriented. The *collective offer* is both self-face saving and other face saving, which we prefer to call ‘mutual-oriented face’ with respect to Ting-Toomey’s propositions (1998). The *direct offer* is face-threatening, as the hearer’s option to react to it is blocked through the domineering attitude of the apologizer. *Reconstructing the past* is very self-face saving as it also bears a pretense not to have noticed the offense and an interest that comes too late. In some of the offer-of-repair strategies, the speaker puts himself / herself in the center of needs, as the offer of repair can only be realized when the speaker has

time for it: *müsait olduğum zaman, şimdi vaktim var, şu an müsaitim, ich habe jetzt Zeit*: [when it suits me or now I have time]. Some of the questions that can be seen as offer-of-repair attempts are very face-threatening as they downgrade the offended person's past act that had been ignored: *was war den so wichtig was du mir jetzt sagen wolltest*: [what was so important that you wanted to tell me].

Table 52: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

Facework Strategies	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
Mutual facework	15	11
Other-oriented facework	7	7
Self-oriented facework	15	13
Offers with FTA	7	5

11.1.8 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-S.Aged-Collg

This strategy is scarcely seen in the interlocution with the same-aged colleague.
The results are distributed in the table below.

Table 53: No Reactions in Turkish and German

‘No reaction’ in Turkish Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’	‘No reaction’ in German Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’
1	My colleague should know that I am busy	3	I do not know what to say to my colleague
			I could not think of a reaction, but I think I would not have reacted
			He /she would know the workplace and the stress we have

11.2 Addressee: Elderly colleague around sixty

11.2.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

As far as the use of IFIDs is concerned, we observed that the numbers of IFIDs used in Turkish are higher than in German. The most used IFID in Turkish is '*kusura bakma*' in various forms: *tu, vous, with possessive marker; kusur{Im}a bakma* and *with a conditional followed by the appeal to hearer's understanding strategy; kusura bakmazsanız sevinirim*, [I would be glad if you do not mind]. The IFID *kusura bakma* is followed by *özür dilerim* in its present form and rarely in the form with the continuous *{yor}* marker; *özür diliyorum*. Although very low in number, we assume that the reason for this usage is to be more polite as the *{yor}* marker can be seen as an intensifier *I am apologizing* instead of *I apologize*. An expression of forgiveness and the use of *pardon* are barely seen.

The German data shows that the most used IFID is an expression of regret. Expressions of apology are half in number compared to expressions of regret. An expression of forgiveness is never seen in the German data. Tables 54, 55, 56 and 57 show the results.

Table 54: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	19
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	16
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In}</i>	13
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In}{Iz}</i>	2
<i>Özür dili{yor}um</i>	2
<i>Pardon</i>	2

Table 55: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	4
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	3
<i>Schuldigung</i>	2

Table 56: An Expression of Regret in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	12
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	9
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	21
<i>Sorry</i>	1

Table 57: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin{Iz}</i>	3
<i>Affedersin</i>	1

11.2.2 Findings Concerning Tu-Vous Preference and Alerters in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

When comparing the 'tu - vous' preference, the data shows that *tu* is frequently used in Turkish. Interestingly, we observe in the German data that the subjects prefer mostly *vous* when talking to an elderly colleague. This is a crucial finding which we interpret as a pragmatic failure that the subjects show during their Turkish interlocution as it is also not common to use *tu* in an interlocution with an elderly colleague in the Turkish cultural context. The pragmatic failure becomes clearer in combination with the alerter usage in the Turkish data. Here, we observed the use of address forms that show a family relation which is not conventional in this context, while in German these kinds of usages are never seen. Either they do not prefer an address form in German at all or they create a name such as *Herr so und so* meaning *Mr. so and so* or *Herr X* meaning *Mr. X*. It is also interesting that although there were no clues about the gender of the imaginary addressee on the role cards, the subjects preferred in to use a male version in their address forms. A neutral form which can be applied to both genders was only used once. Tables 58 and 59 illustrate the findings on *tu*, *vous* and the alerters in this case.

Table 58: 'Tu' and 'Vous' preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Freq. Tu</i>	<i>Freq. Vous</i>	<i>Freq. -Int</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	32	24	3
<i>German</i>	14	34	10

Table 59: Alerters in Turkish and German

<i>Kinship terms in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Abi/abla</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Abi</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Abicim</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Amca</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Amcacım</i>	<i>2</i>
Total	6
<i>Non-verbal Alerter Turkish</i>	
<i>Hand movement</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Kissing hand</i>	<i>1</i>
Total	<u>2</u>
<i>Attention Getters in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>First name+Bey</i>	<i>1</i>
Total	1
<i>Attention Getters in German</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Herr so und so</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Herr X</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Kollege</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Hören Sie</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Hi</i>	<i>1</i>
Total	5

11.2.3 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

It is quite interesting that in this situation the use of intensification and downgrading is very infrequent compared to the other situations marked with the *jumping the line* violation. The use of *adverbs* and *exclamations* is rarely seen. The 'ya' particle as a pitying intensifier is seldom observed in Turkish. The use of *bitte* is almost never seen. The same can be said for external intensifiers *concern for the hearer* is rarely observed. Other strategies like *appeal to hearer's understanding* and *praising the hearer* are hardly ever found in the data. Table 60 shows the observed intensifiers.

Table 60: Intensification in Turkish and German

Intensification Tools	Turkish Freq.	German Freq.
<i>Adverbs</i>	4	3
<i>Exclamations</i>	1	2
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	8	-
<i>Use of 'bitte'</i>	-	1
<i>Appeal to hearer's understanding</i>	1	0
<i>Praising the hearer</i>	1	1

11.2.4 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

The findings that are related to the *taking on responsibility* strategy show that in the Turkish data, subjects habitually take on responsibility in stating the violation. The German data shows that this strategy is commonly used. However, in applying this strategy the Turkish data reveals that the violation is mostly stated explicitly while in the German data the findings show that the violation is stated both explicitly and implicitly. The implicit statement of the violation is almost never observed in the Turkish data. Interestingly, in the *accepting the facts but not responsibility* category we observed that in combination with stating the violation the subjects prefer a justification in order to mitigate it. This phenomenon is repeatedly observed in the Turkish and German data. The frequent and various use of adverbs in these strategies is also observed. We interpret them as a self-face saving means. By doing so, the subjects mitigate the statement of violation but intensify the justification so that the subject gains the possibility to justify his/her violation by simultaneously reducing the effect of it. The *lack of intent* and *explicit self-blame* strategies are hardly ever observed. Table 61 illustrates the results regarding taking on responsibility strategies in both languages:

Table 61: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

	<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
	<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	52	14
	<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>	2	13
	<i>Lack of Intent</i>	2	2
	<i>Explicit self blame</i>	1	0
	<i>Justify the hearer</i>	0	0
	<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>	0	0
	<i>Denial of fault</i>	0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	34	30
	<i>Blaming someone else</i>	0	0
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>	0	0

11.2.5 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

The data shows that the subjects apply the *offer-of-repair* strategy repeatedly in both languages. Compared to the other situation with the *jumping the line* violation, this strategy seems to be more complex in its nature; as the subjects do more facework to mitigate the FTA that the violation of ignoring causes to the hearer while the apologizing strategies are more face-threatening to the speaker.

The ‘mutual facework’ is applied in both the Turkish and German data with a collective marker that makes for a common ground for both parties, e.g. *şimdi konuşabilir miyiz* [can we talk now] or *können wir jetzt darüber reden?* [can we speak about it now?] In some cases we have a conditional that is other-oriented followed by a collective marker that neutralizes the face-threatening act to the

speaker, e.g. *wenn Sie Zeit haben, können wir plaudern* [if you have time, we can have a chat], *isterseniz şimdi konuşalım tatilde ne yaptığınızı* [if you like, we can talk about your holiday], *aber das können wir ja gerne nachholen, wenn Sie wollen* [but we can make good for it, if you like]. There are other utterances that do not fit into the above categories. Here we observe highly face-threatening acts in the ‘offer of repair’ strategy. Assuming that apologizing strategies should seek ways to restore harmony to a broken norm, this kind of facework denotes a pragmatic failure as there is an apparent lack of appropriate facework. For example utterances like *ama şimdi anlatabilirsin* [but you can tell me now], *ama şimdi anlatabilirsin ne anlatmak istiyorsan* [but you can tell me now what you want to tell] or in German *was wolltest du denn?* [what did you want (then)?], *du wolltest mir ja was erzählen was war denn so wichtig?* [you wanted to tell me something, what was so important?]

For the ‘mutual facework’ which is frequently observed in both languages, we can assume that there is a negative pragmatic transfer from Turkish to German as Turkish belongs to a collective culture. The tendency to make a conflict to ‘ours’ instead of ‘mine’ may be part of collective cultures’ facework. For a more detailed analysis monolinguals of Turkish and German should also be tested in order to prove this assumption. However, this is not the focus of this study.

Table 62: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

<i>Facework Strategies</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Mutual facework</i>	16	13
<i>Other-oriented facework</i>	12	4
<i>Self-oriented facework</i>	8	7
<i>Offers with FTA</i>	6	2

11.2.6 Findings Concerning the ‘*No Reaction*’ Strategy in Ignr-Elderly-Collg

In the situation in which an elderly colleague is ignored the rate of using the strategy of ‘no reaction’ is high. As far as the data is concerned, we observed 11 in Turkish and 9 in German. Generally speaking it seems that subjects do not know how to react or how to apologize when the chance for an apology arises later on. Age definitely turns out to be a factor that affects the behavior of our subjects and the feeling of not knowing how to react depends on the distance that arises due to age. Only one subject stated that a colleague should show empathy for the workload one has and would therefore not apologize as can be seen from Table 63.

Table 63: No Reactions in Turkish and German

‘No reaction’ in Turkish Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’	‘No reaction’ in German Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’
11	A colleague should know the workload and stress and should show empathy for it	9	I don’t know
	I do not have a colleague that is 60 and would not know how to react		I don’t know
	Would ignore it		I don’t know
	I do not know how to speak to an elderly person		I don’t know
	Because it is an elderly person, there is distance		These are things that are completed for me and when people are older I would not talk about it again
	In a spontaneous situation I would not know what to say to an elderly person		I would not know how to react errr behave
	I would not know how to share my thoughts with an elderly person		I would be ashamed to speak because of the mistake I made before
	I don’t know		Because I do not know a colleague that is old
	I don’t know		
	I don’t know		
	I don’t know		

11.3 Addressee: Your boss

11.3.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Boss

The data shows that in terms of IFIDs, subjects mostly prefer *an expression of apology* in Turkish while in German they mostly prefer *an expression of regret*.

Table 64: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	14
<i>Kusura bakma(y)In</i>	14
<i>Kusura bakma(y){In}{Iz}</i>	1
<i>Pardon</i>	5
<i>Özür dili{yor}um</i>	2
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	4

Table 65: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Schuldigung</i>	3
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	3
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	2
<i>Ich entschuldige mich</i>	1

Table 66: An Expression of Regret in German and Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	17
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	4
<i>Sorry</i>	1
<i>Üzgünüm (I am sorry)</i>	2
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	0

Table 67: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin{Iz}</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Affedersin</i>	<i>0</i>

11.3.2 Tu and Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-Boss

The politeness in this situation appears to be highly formal in both languages. In both data *vous* is mostly used and *tu* is barely used. Table 68 displays the findings.

Table 68: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>German</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>7</i>

*Refers to situations in which the intention of *tu* or *vous* is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

11.3.3 Alerters in Ignr-Boss

The alerters used in the data are meant to be quite formal. However, the appropriateness of these alerters needs to be discussed. The most used alerter ‘Chef’ in German although meant to be formal is not the common use when talking to your boss. If meant formally, however, this usage indicates a pragmatic failure in German where the appropriate use would be *Herr/Frau* plus *a surname*, which is barely used in the data in the male form and never used in the female form. A similar use, thus barely used, is seen in the Turkish data and we can assume that this use is a transfer from German into Turkish as this usage would not be appropriate in Turkish either. The appropriate use would be *first name+Bey or Hanım* which is hardly ever observed in the data. From this we conclude that the subjects are not aware of the appropriate address form when talking to a person in a higher position. The findings are illustrated in Table 69.

Table 69: Alerters in Turkish and German

<i>Attention Getters in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Şef (boss)</i>	3
<i>Şefim (my boss)</i>	3
<i>First name+Bey</i>	2
<i>Efendim (sir/madam)</i>	2
<i>Patron (boss)</i>	1
Total	11
<i>Attention Getters in German</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Chef</i>	15
<i>Herr+surname</i>	3
<i>Saluation</i>	4
<i>Herr+Chef</i>	1
Total	23

11.3.4 Findings Concerning the Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Boss

The same phenomenon of intensification is also observed in this case. The IFID is not as frequently intensified as it was in the case of *jumping the line* as demonstrated in Table 70. We assume that the time between the violation and apology is quite important for intensifying the IFID. It can be concluded that the closer the apologizing act is to the violation, the more probable the use of an IFID internal intensifier.

Table 70: Intensification in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i> <i>Freq.</i>	<i>German</i> <i>Freq.</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	6	6
<i>Exclamations</i>	0	0
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	5	-
<i>Use of 'bitte'</i>	-	2

11.3.5 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Boss

As demonstrated in Table 71, both data reveal that subjects generally take on responsibility for the offense. An interesting picture emerges when we analyze the justifications made. Here we observed that most of the justifications are made due to workload in general and that the offense occurred because of this workload. However, in both data on some occasions subjects made justifications including their mental or physical condition, e.g. headache or mental absentness. Moreover, it was observed at times that subjects blamed the boss for the workload given, so that they could not concentrate on the boss's

need for small talk. *Lack of intent* and *explicit self-blame* are almost never applied in this case.

Table 71: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

		<i>Strategies</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
		<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>	28	19
		<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>	2	4
		<i>Lack of Intent</i>	2	0
		<i>Explicit self blame</i>	1	0
		<i>Justify the hearer</i>	0	0
		<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>	0	0
		<i>Denial of fault</i>	0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Due to work</i>	28	26
		<i>Due to mental or physical condition</i>	7	7
	<i>Blaming the boss because of workload</i>		7	5
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		0	0

The mitigation and intensifying strategy is also applied in this case. In stating the violation explicitly the Turkish data reveals the use of adverbs whereas this is never observed in the German data. However, in making justifications, adverbs are used to either intensify or mitigate in both data so as to reduce the self-face threatening act as illustrated in Table 72 below.

Table 72: Intensifiers and Mitigators in Justification

<i>Turkish</i>	
<i>Çok (a lot)</i>	11
<i>Bayağı (a lot)</i>	1
<i>Biraz (a little)</i>	1
<i>Birazcık (just a little)</i>	1
Total in Turkish	<u>14</u>
<i>German</i>	
<i>so viel (a lot)</i>	3
<i>viel (a lot)</i>	3
<i>sehr (much)</i>	2
<i>Sehr viel (so much)</i>	2
<i>Gar keine (none at all)</i>	2
<i>Wirklich so viel (really so much)</i>	1
<i>Bisschen voll (little much)</i>	1
<i>Zu (too)</i>	1
<i>Zu sehr (too much)</i>	1
<i>Leider(unfortunately)</i>	1
<i>Überhaupt (at all)</i>	1
<i>Echt viel (really much)</i>	1
Total in German	<u>19</u>

11.3.6 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Boss

As we can see from Table 73, the subjects apply offer-of-repair strategies in both Turkish and in German. In this case the most regularly used strategy in German is the *mutual oriented* offer-of-repair. Other-oriented facework, offer with *FTA* strategy and self-oriented facework are seldom used in the German data. As far as the Turkish data is concerned, the most used strategy is the mutual facework followed by an equal distribution of the other strategies as can be observed in Table 74 below.

Table 73: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

<i>Facework Strategies</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Mutual facework</i>	11	16
<i>Other-oriented facework</i>	5	3
<i>Self-oriented facework</i>	6	2
<i>Offers with FTA</i>	5	4

11.3.7 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-Boss

In the situation in which the addressee is the boss, a high rate of the strategy of no reaction is observed (see Table 74). The subjects see no need to apologize in the case of an interlocution with the boss. The first reason lies in the assumption that an apology is a means that is applied in close relationships. Although it can be assumed that harmony should be restored in a conflict situation that occurs in a hierarchical relationship, the findings show that the strategy of ignoring the boss is preferred.

The second reason that is crystallized out of the analysis is that pragmatic competence of how to behave and realize the act in such a situation does not seem to exist. Hence the subjects describe, when asked for the reason, that they do not know what to say or how to react to a boss as they do not have one. This phenomenon can also not be explained with the information that was collected in the background questionnaire. Therefore, ‘*experience*’ appears to be a key to pragmatic competence, for although they were expected to imagine this situation, the subjects definitely had problems with it. In comparison, in the situation in which they had to play the role of the teacher who ignores his/her student, the strategy of not reacting was not used as regularly as it was in this case. Here we assume that they drew on the experience of their own with their teachers and applied it.

Table 74: No Reactions in Turkish and German

‘No reaction’ in Turkish Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’	‘No reaction’ in German Freq.	Reasons given for ‘no reaction’
14	Absent knowledge about how to behave or react due to not having a boss	11	Absent knowledge about how to behave or react due to not having a boss
6	Avoiding a conflict because of being ashamed	1	Due to not caring as the boss should know that he/she was working and should not disturb the subject
3	Due to not caring, as a boss is not expected to be having small talk	1	Avoiding a conflict because of being ashamed

In Turkish most of the *no reaction* strategy usages were due to not knowing how to react or behave in such a situation as they do not have a boss in real life, 6 of the reactions were due to avoiding the conflict because of being ashamed, 3 were due to not caring because they would not expect a boss to make small talk with them. As far as the German data is concerned, a similar picture is seen. Most of the given reasons were due to not knowing how to react or behave in such a situation, 1 was due to being ashamed and 1 due to not caring as the boss should know that he/she was working and should not disturb.

11.4 Addressee: Your student

11.4.1 Findings Concerning the IFID in Ignr-Stud

As illustrated in the tables below, the data in this case shows that the subjects prefer more IFIDs in Turkish than in German. The most used IFID in Turkish is *kusura bakma* followed by *özür dilerim*, *pardon*, *üzgünüm* and *affedersin* which are seldom used. Generally speaking the rate of IFID usage is less than in the other cases, which could be due to the power and distance relationship between a teacher and a student. In German the most used IFID is *sorry* followed by *tut mir leid*, *es tut mir leid* and *Entschuldigung*. The IFIDs *Schuldigung* and *entschuldigen Sie* are scarcely ever used in the data.

Table 75: An Expression of an Apology in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Kusura bakma</i>	25
<i>Özür dilerim</i>	4
<i>Pardon</i>	2
<i>Özür dili{yor}um</i>	0
<i>Kusura bakma(y)In</i>	0

Table 76: An Expression of an Apology in German

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Entschuldigung</i>	4
<i>Schuldigung</i>	2
<i>Entschuldigen Sie</i>	1
<i>Ich entschuldige mich</i>	0

Table 77: An Expression of Regret in German and Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Sorry</i>	9
<i>Tut mir leid</i>	7
<i>Es tut mir leid</i>	4
<i>Üzgünüm (I am sorry)</i>	2
<i>Das tut mir leid</i>	0

Table 78: An Expression of Forgiveness in Turkish

<i>IFIDs</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Affedersin</i>	1
<i>Affedersin{Iz}</i>	0

11.4.2 Tu and Vous Preference in Turkish and German in Ignr-Stud

The data shows that the *tu* preference in this case in both languages is habitual which is visible in Table 79. Most of the subjects used the *tu* marker. The *vous* marker is almost never observed. In the cases where the intention is not clear the language style shows that the subjects would have used *tu* marker if it had been necessary in the interlocution with a student.

Table 79: Frequency of ‘Tu’ and ‘Vous’ preference in Turkish and German

	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Vous</i>	<i>-Int*</i>
<i>Turkish</i>	63	1	1
<i>German</i>	41	2	17

*Refers to situations in which the intention of tu or vous is not clear because of absent grammatical markers.

11.4.3 Alerters in Ignr-Stud

The alerters in this case are of quite informal nature in both languages. However, when alerters were preferred in Turkish, the subjects used endearment terms, which are never observed in the German data. Furthermore, taking a closer look at the endearment terms in the Turkish data, we noticed that some of them are not appropriate or culturally would only have been appropriate if used by an elderly person. In our opinion, the subjects could have reproduced the endearment terms which they had experienced themselves. Another difference observed is that in the Turkish data, the subjects used names as alerters; this use is also never seen in German. Concerning the German data, it frequently reveals attention getters in various forms. The types of alerters used in both data can be found in Table 80 below.

Table 80: Alerters in Turkish and German

<i>Endearment Terms in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Canım (my dear)</i>	5
<i>Evladım (my child)</i>	2
<i>Çocuğum (my child)</i>	1
<i>Yavrum (my little one)</i>	1
Total	9
<i>Attention Getters in Turkish</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Merhaba (Hello)</i>	3
<i>Naaber (what's up)</i>	1
<i>First name</i>	4
Total	8
<i>Attention Getters in German</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Hi</i>	2
<i>Ej</i>	1
<i>He</i>	1
<i>Hej</i>	2
<i>Hallo</i>	3
<i>Ja</i>	1
<i>Du</i>	3
<i>Hi wie geht's</i>	1
<i>Hi schau mal</i>	1
Total	15

11.4.4 Findings Concerning Intensification of the IFID in Ignr-Stud

The intensifiers used in this case are very low in number compared to the 'jumping the line' situation. Thus, adverbs are hardly ever used in Turkish and on no occasion in German. Exclamations, the 'ya' particle in Turkish, 'bitte' and 'lütfen', and German phrases like 'auf jeden Fall' meaning *by all means*, and 'noch mal' meaning *again* are almost never used in both data. As far as external intensification is concerned, we observed the same frequency. Both *appeal to hearer's understanding* and *concern for the hearer* are barely ever seen in both data. This phenomenon has been observed in all cases concerning the violation of 'ignoring'. We can conclude that the time between the violation and apologizing plays an important role in intensifying the IFID internally.

This is a crucial finding as it shows that it is not the grade of the violation that is decisive for intensifying the IFID, but the length of time between the misdoing and the remedying; hence, the closer the apologizing act to the time of misdoing, the higher the possibility to intensify the IFID internally.

Table 81: Internal Intensification in Turkish and German

	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Adverbs</i>	4	0
<i>Exclamations</i>	1	1
<i>Use of 'ya'</i>	3	-
<i>Use of 'lütfe'</i>	1	-
<i>Use of 'bitte'</i>	-	1
<i>Auf jeden Fall</i>	-	1
<i>Noch Mal</i>	-	1

Table 82: Frequency of External Intensification in Turkish and German

Appeal to hearer's understanding	L1 and L2	Freq.
	Turkish	1
	German	1
Concern for the hearer	Turkish	2
	German	1

11.4.5 Findings Concerning Downgrading in Ignr-Stud

In this situation downgrading is scarcely ever seen in both languages. *Sarcasm* is observed only twice in German and never in Turkish and *pretend not to have realized the offense* is once seen in Turkish but at no time in German.

11.4.6 Findings Concerning Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Stud

As can be seen from Table 83 the strategy of taking on responsibility is applied by stating the violation explicitly and implicitly in both languages. As far as the Turkish data is concerned we observed that the subjects regularly state the violation explicitly and hardly ever implicitly, whereas in German the distribution of both strategies is common. *Lack of intent* is hardly ever seen in Turkish and never seen in German.

Interestingly enough is the application of the *justification* strategy which is habitually observed in both data. In the Turkish data, the justification is made attributed to the workload followed by justifications due to mental or physical condition which are occasionally found in the data. Last but not least we have the justification due to lack of time which is almost never seen in the Turkish data. Conversely, justifications made due to lack of time are commonly applied in the German data followed by justifications made due to workload which are observed more often than not. Likewise the justification made due to the physical and mental condition is occasionally found in the German data. These findings lead us to assume that '*lack of time*' is a more accepted notion for the German context when it is directly connected to workload and does not require further explanation.

Table 83: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German

<i>Strategies</i>			<i>Turkish</i> <i>Freq.</i>	<i>German</i> <i>Freq.</i>
<i>Explicit Statement of violation</i>			38	19
<i>Implicit Statement of violation</i>			2	8
<i>Lack of Intent</i>			2	0
<i>Explicit self blame</i>			0	0
<i>Justify the hearer</i>			0	0
<i>Expression of embarrassment</i>			0	0
<i>Denial of fault</i>			0	0
<i>Admission of facts but not responsibility</i>	<i>Justification</i>	<i>Due to work</i>	20	12
		<i>Due to mental or physical condition</i>	5	6
		<i>Due to lack of time</i>	2	18
	<i>Attacking the complainer</i>		2	4

11.4.7 Intensification and Mitigation in Taking on Responsibility in Ignr-Stud

In this case the justifications made by the subjects to minimize the responsibility for the violation are intensified by a range of adverbs that mostly refer to the workload the violator had. In the Turkish data the adverb *çok* meaning *much* is frequently used, whereas in German, the intensification is made through different kinds of adverbial usages. Looking at the rate of the use of justifications in both data, we observed that in Turkish the need to intensify in order to minimize the responsibility or, in other words, to make the violation accepted by the hearer is greater than the need in German. Thus, inspection of

Table 84 indicates that adverbs to mitigate are seldom used in the strategy of *stating the violation explicitly* in both languages; however in making *justifications*, subjects habitually use adverbs in Turkish and more often than not in German.

Table 84: Intensifiers and Mitigators in Taking on Responsibility

<i>Turkish Explicit Statement of Responsibility</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Pek (quite)</i>	4
<i>Fazla (much)</i>	3
<i>Hiç (ever)</i>	1
Total	8
<i>German Explicit Statement of Responsibility</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>So richtig (that right)</i>	1
<i>Wirklich (really)</i>	1
<i>Leider (unfortunately)</i>	1
<i>Ein Bisschen (a little)</i>	1
Total	4
<i>Turkish Justification</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Çok (a lot)</i>	16
<i>Birazcık (just a little)</i>	2
<i>Bir kaç (a few)</i>	1
Total	19
<i>German Justification</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>Viel (much)</i>	3
<i>So (so)</i>	2
<i>Leider (unfortunately)</i>	2
<i>Zu sehr (too much)</i>	1
<i>Sehr viel (a lot)</i>	1
<i>Gar keine (none at all)</i>	1
<i>Ehrlich so (really so)</i>	1
<i>Einiges (a lot)</i>	1
<i>Echt viel (really much)</i>	1
<i>Echt (really)</i>	1
Total	14

11.4.8 Findings Concerning Offer of Repair in Ignr-Stud

Table 85 provides the various offer-of-repair strategies used with their different facework focuses. As can be seen, the *offer-of-repair* strategy is used as a rule in both data. We found in the Turkish data that self-oriented offer of repair strategies are frequently used followed by mutual offer of repair, other-oriented and offers with FTA. In German the most used strategy is the mutual one, while the rest of the facework strategies are used on an equal base; all of them are observed more often than not. Compared to the other cases with different addressees, we found that the FTA is more common in this case, which can be seen as evidence for the effect that power relations have on doing the FTA. Given power in its role, the subject is more likely to do the FTA here than in the other situations.

Table 85: Offer of Repair in Turkish and German

<i>Facework Strategy</i>	<i>Turkish Freq.</i>	<i>German Freq.</i>
<i>Mutual facework</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Other-oriented facework</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Self-oriented facework</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Offers with FTA</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>9</i>

11.4.9 Findings Concerning the ‘No Reaction’ Strategy in Ignr-Stud

The strategy of ‘no reaction’ has been observed five times in both Turkish and German showing that this strategy was rarely applied. In other words, ‘no reaction’ as a strategy does not frequently occur. In this rare use, the reasons given for using the ‘no reaction’ strategy display a certain inadequateness regarding the subjects’ feeling about apologizing from a student. Table 86 illustrates them with the given reasons.

Table 86: No Reactions in Turkish and German

‘No Reaction’ in Turkish Freq.	Reasons for ‘No reaction’	‘No Reaction’ in German Freq.	Reasons for ‘No reaction’
5	I would not apologize to a student of mine.	5	When I am the teacher it is normal that I have a lot of work to do, students can wait, I would not apologize
	There is no need to apologize to a student.		I would not apologize to a student. They have to know this
	I think I would have a lot of students and to listen to all of their weekend stories would be tiring.		I don’t know, I would not!
	Which teacher would go and ask his/her student again “come on tell me about your weekend!!”		I think I do not have to listen to them!
	I do not have to listen to people’s weekend stories!!		I would not apologize to a student later on, there is a distance, an apology could destroy my authority

Chapter V

Summary and Discussion

12. An Overall Look at the Findings

In this study the apologizing strategies of Turkish-German bilingual students have been investigated under the notion of the bilingual pragmatic competence, stressing politeness strategies with a focus on facework from a cultural point of view and bi-directional pragmatic transfer namely negative or positive. In this study we found that Turkish-German bilingual students mainly use three apologizing strategies of five put forward in the CCSARP coding manual, namely *the use of an IFID*, *taking on responsibility* and *offer of repair*. The *'promise of forbearance'* strategy almost never occurs in the whole data of both languages. This finding could be due to the situation chosen for apologizing. Specifically, in the *'jumping-the-line'* situation, the possibility of this happened act to occur again is very low and all the addressees apart from the university teacher are strangers, to whom one would, logically, not grant a promise of forbearance; thus, the subjects did not feel the need to use this strategy. This is quite contrary to the situation of *'ignoring'* in which all addressees are people known to the subject and where the possibility to encounter the addressee again is inescapable, but this *promise of forbearance* strategy is also almost never used. With reference to this, we can interpret that the situations are not the reason for not having used this strategy. It is obvious that this apologizing strategy is not preferred by Turkish-German bilinguals for which we do not have a plausible explanation. A closer look at monolinguals could give us more information about this strategy usage, so further research could certainly be carried out on this issue.

Referring to the *'giving an explanation'* strategy, the data denotes that this strategy is never used. However, instead of an explanation, the subjects preferred to make a justification which is a sub-strategy of *taking on responsibility*. The reason why we analysed such expressions as justifications instead of explanations lies in the nature of such expressions, as they are not

'objective' reasons for the violation at hand (Blum-Kulka & House & Kasper, 1989). All of the expressions used to mitigate the circumstances offered by the offender use the first person in our data and are therefore coded as a sub-strategy of *taking on responsibility*.

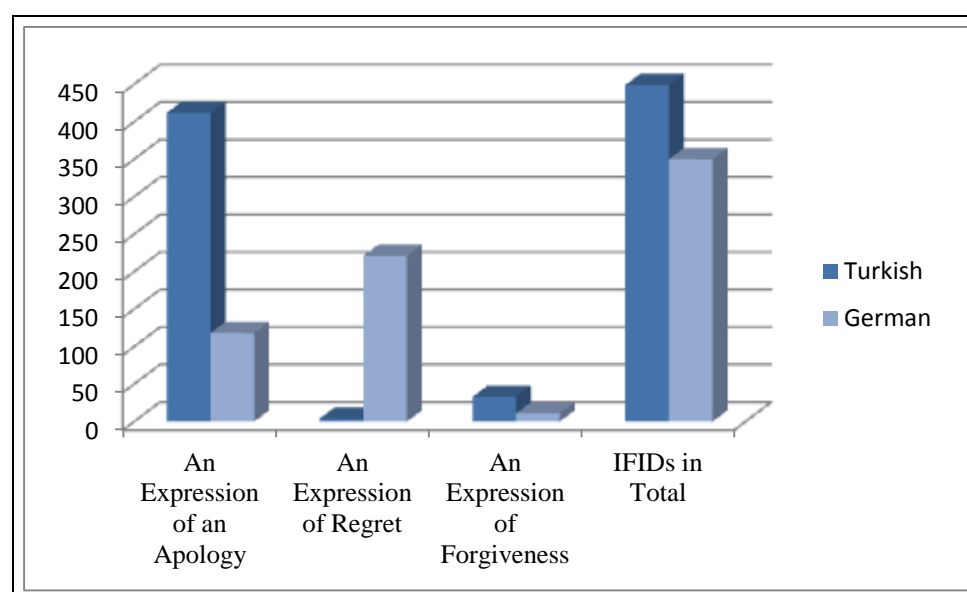
12.1 General Discussions and Conclusions

As far as the three strategies; *the use of an IFID*, *taking on responsibility*, *offer of repair*, and the politeness issues are concerned, there are findings that are exceedingly striking.

The IFIDs

Firstly, the IFID use in both Turkish and German has some peculiarities that have to be mentioned. The data shows that our subjects mostly prefer an expression of an apology in Turkish, whereas in German they prefer an expression of regret which is almost never observed in Turkish. An expression of an apology in German is often preferred, taking the whole data into consideration. Figure 4 demonstrates the general picture of the IFID use in both languages.

Fig. 4: IFIDs in Turkish and German



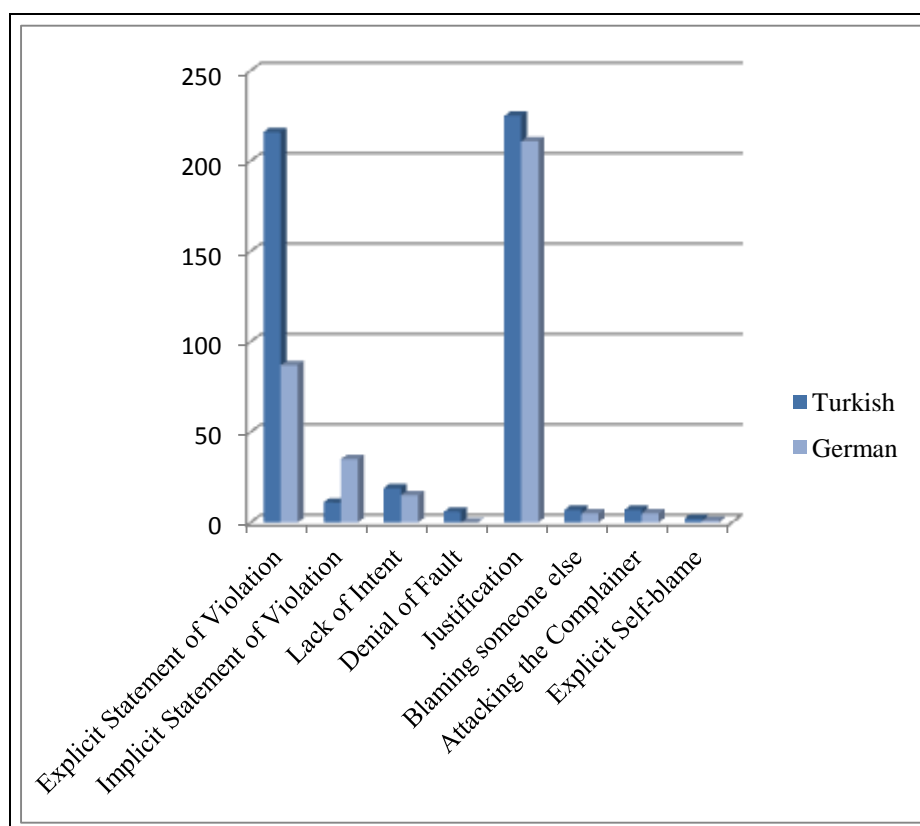
As can be seen from Figure 4 an expression of an apology is the most used IFID in Turkish whereas in German the most used IFID type is that of regret. Moreover, the whole data denotes that the subjects used more IFIDs in Turkish than in German. Furthermore, the rare use of IFID types of regret in Turkish and forgiveness in both languages can be interpreted as a lack of pragmatic competence. In particular, the IFIDs of forgiveness which may be considered as more polite are not frequently used by the subjects in either language, as is also visible from Figure 4. It can be concluded that in terms of using IFIDs, an expression of apology is preferred the most, moreover, when using an expression of apology the more colloquial ones are favored.

Taking on Responsibility

Secondly, *taking on responsibility* strategies are also applied in both languages. Quite interesting is the high preference for making a justification in Turkish and German as illustrated in Figure 5. This strategy is at the lower end of the scale of taking on responsibility as it refers to accepting the offense or facts rather than taking on responsibility directly. In other words, the mitigating takes place by reducing the responsibility for that offense. As can be seen from Figure 5, the explicit statement of the violation is also mostly preferred in Turkish. However, it is frequently observed in combination with a justification that immediately reduces the responsibility that is taken for the violation at hand. Culturally seen such a combination can be highly face-threatening and not be accepted as an apology. Another such combination is that of an IFID and a justification which can also be realized as face-threatening and the effect of such a set of apologizing strategies could be low as the felicity condition of sincerity is not fulfilled. In other words, while on the one hand one apologizes by using an illocutionary force indicating device, on the other hand one downgrades the intention of an apology by using a justification that is face-threatening to the complaine and very self-oriented in favor of the apologizer. These appearances in our data may denote a low pragmatic competence as far as apologizing is concerned. Furthermore, in terms of the harmony-bringing property of an apology, we can say that the rare direct use of the *lack of intent*

strategy may also denote a low pragmatic competence with regard to meaningful and effective repair work.

Fig. 5: Taking on Responsibility in Turkish and German



Another interesting appearance, as far as the sub-strategies of taking on responsibility are concerned, is the use of the {mİf} marker in Turkish. With the aid of this marker the subjects achieved a double-strategy usage by implying a lack of intent while they stated the violation explicitly. This can be interpreted as the reason why most of the subjects did not use a direct utterance that expresses *lack of intent*. However, taking a look at the German utterances, the use of a lack of intent strategy is also not frequent, despite the fact that a marker such as {mİf} does not exist in the German language, which may still denote a lack of pragmatic competence.

Another function of the {mIf} marker is its mitigating effect of the offense, which has a self-face saving function and is negative-face oriented. Both uses of the {mIf} marker are not typical in such a context, and can be interpreted as a bilingual pragmatic aspect. However, it can be concluded that subjects are aware of the evidential function of {mIf} and use it as a mitigating and repairing strategy to save their own face. To sum up, the subjects favor in both languages sub-strategies of taking on responsibility which have a complex character; hence, in terms of bi-directional transfer, it seems that subjects tend to transfer negative-face strategies typical for the German language into Turkish.

All in all, the subjects of this study feature certain appearances in their uses as far as taking on responsibility strategies are concerned. While on the one hand, the clashes of strategies of higher and lower scale can be seen as lack of pragmatic competence in terms of remedying, the special use of the {mIf} marker in Turkish enabling a double strategy can be interpreted as a new appearance in terms of bilingual pragmatic competence.

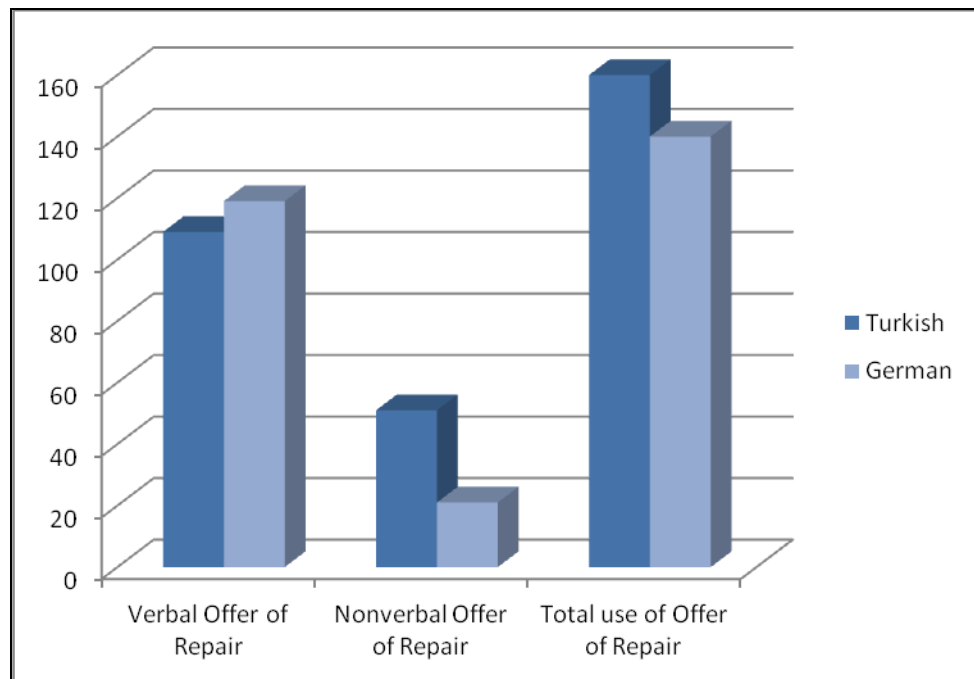
Offer of Repair

Thirdly, in the data the use of the strategy offer-of-repair strategies is observed. As these strategies are very situation dependent a general distribution by separating the situations will be given.

As can be seen from Figure 6, we observed two types of offer-of-repair in the *jumping-the-line* situation: the first type constitutes every utterance that refers to a verbal offer made; the second constitutes the gestures and mimes that stand for an offer of repair in a situation which we called *non-verbal offer of repair*. Considering this situation, we observed that in both languages an offer of repair is mostly preferred. Comparing the non-verbal and the verbal strategies, we observed that the non-verbal strategy is preferred more in Turkish than in German, whereas for the verbal one the opposite is in use. There may be two reasons why the subjects preferred the non-verbal strategy in Turkish for

repairing; the first could be that body language is more a part of the Turkish culture than the German one; the second reason could be that the easier way of showing is favored instead of producing an utterance because of a lack of pragmatic competence.

Fig. 6: Offer of Repair in the Situation *Jumping the Line*



As far as the situation of *ignoring* is concerned, we observed various strategies that are related to facework due to the fact that this situation apparently needs more repairing strategies. With respect to Ting-Toomey's face negotiation theory we categorized the offer-of-repair strategies into: offer of repair with mutual facework, other-oriented facework, self-oriented facework and offers with FTA.

Fig. 7: Offer of Repair in the Situation of *Ignoring*

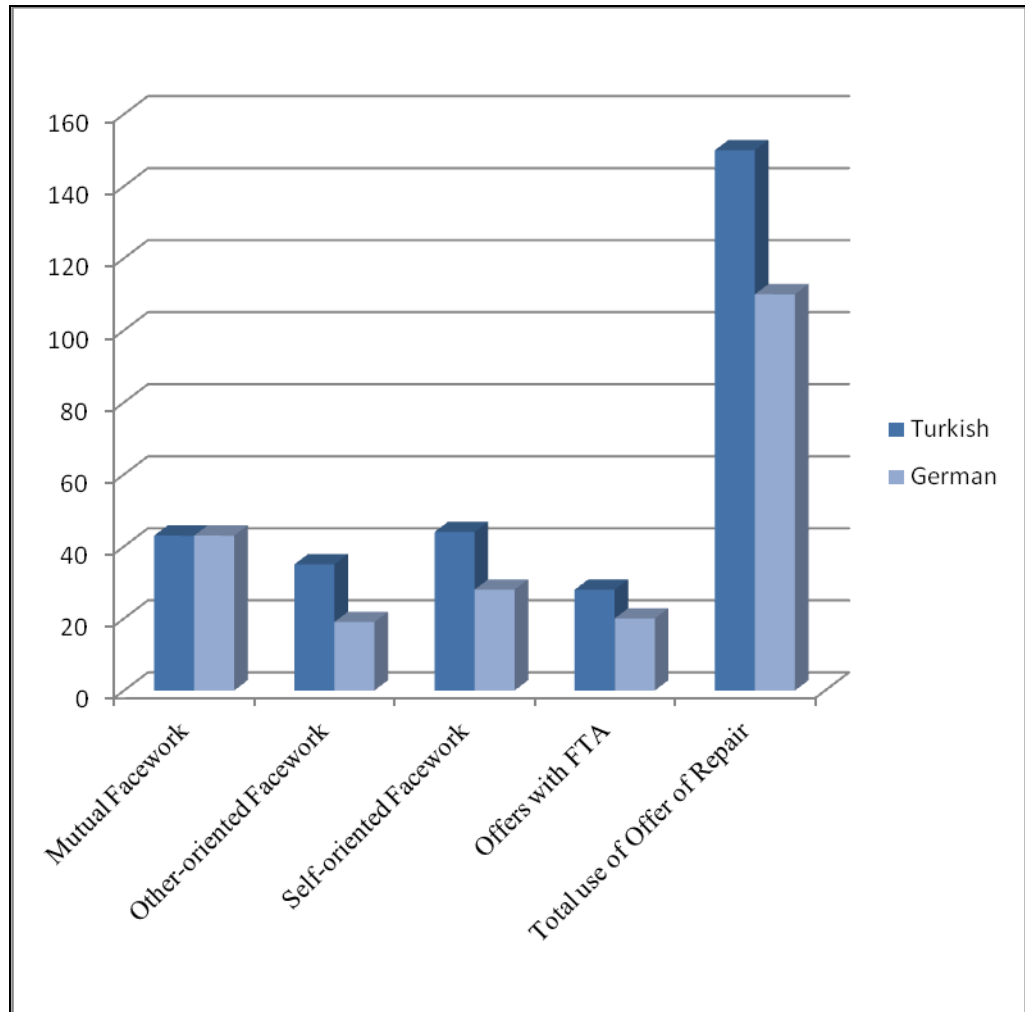


Figure 7 shows that mutual facework in offer-of-repair strategies was preferred equally in both languages. The data also shows that other-oriented strategies were preferred more in Turkish than in German, the same is valid for self-oriented strategies and offers with FTA. In total it was observed that the subjects used more offer-of-repair strategies in Turkish than in German. The assumption put forward by Ting-Toomey that individuals from a collective culture apply more mutual or other-oriented facework strategies, does not seem to appear in our data in which all strategies were applied. Moreover, at first glance, self-oriented facework seems to be used more in Turkish by our subjects than all the other facework strategies, which may show that our subjects could be under the effect of individualistic culture. However when we

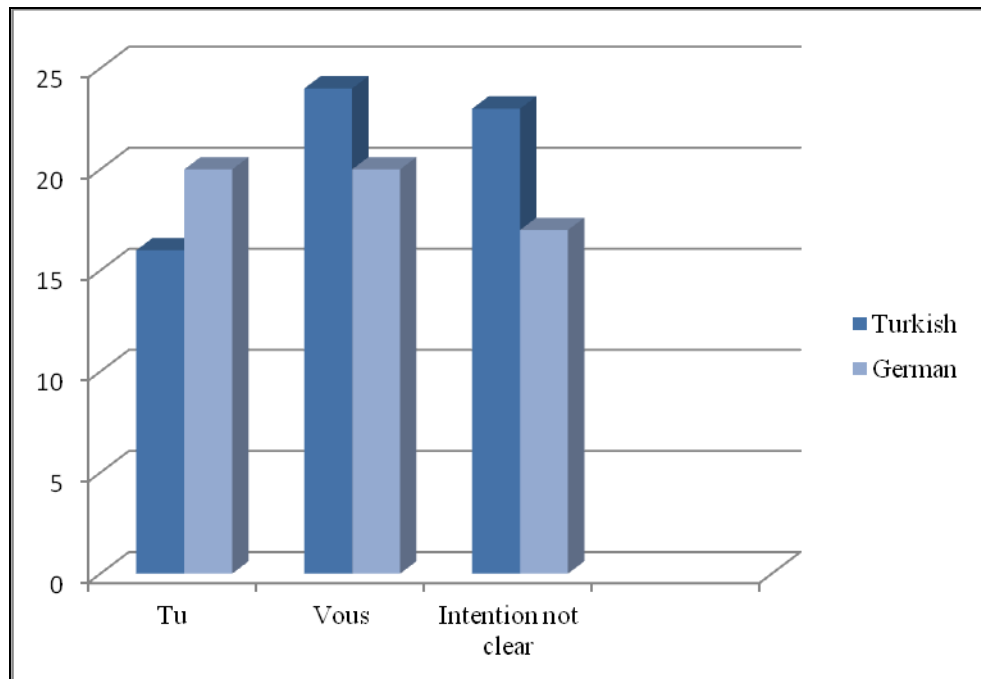
sum up the mutual and other-oriented facework strategies we achieve a higher number than all the other strategies applied in individualistic cultures, showing that our subjects are applying conflict management strategies belonging to collective culture. Referring to the strategies with FTA, we can speak about a lack of pragmatic competence as these highly face-threatening and impolite ways of offering repair are not appropriate.

Tou-Vous and Alerters

In view of other politeness issues in our data, *tu* - *vous* preferences and alerters were taken into account. Due to the fact that these politeness means are addressee dependent an overview of all eight addressees will be presented.

In the *jumping-the-line* situation with the *same-aged* addressee, a vague picture of *tu* and *vous* preference was observed. As can be seen in Figure 8 there is a random usage of *tu* and *vous* and the findings do not indicate the awareness of the usage. In the Turkish cultural university context, it would be normal for the speaker to use the *vous* form if not acquainted with the addressee, even if both are the same age

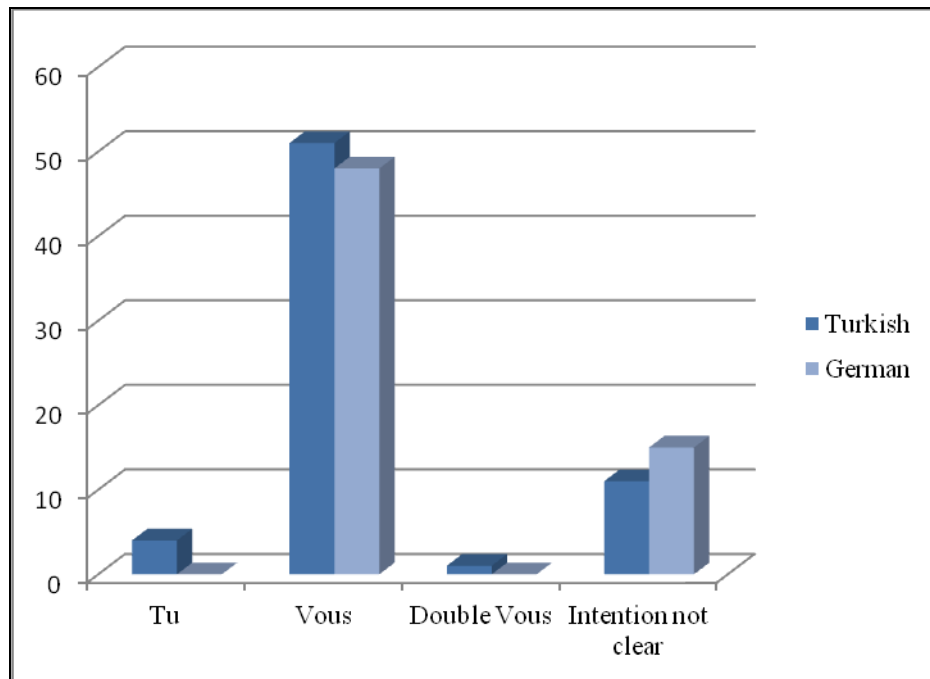
Fig. 8: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a same-aged Person



Lack of alerters and shortness of utterances in this situation may be a sign of informality and may let us assume that the utterances where the intention is not clear may be *tu* utterances. Looking at them from this angle, in both languages *tu* would have been preferred in the interlocution with a same-aged person whom the interlocutors are not acquainted with.

During the interlocution with an *elderly person* whose line was jumped, the picture is quite clear. As Figure 9 illustrates, in both languages the subjects mostly used the *vous* form, and the double *vous* form which is only possible in Turkish was seen once in this case.

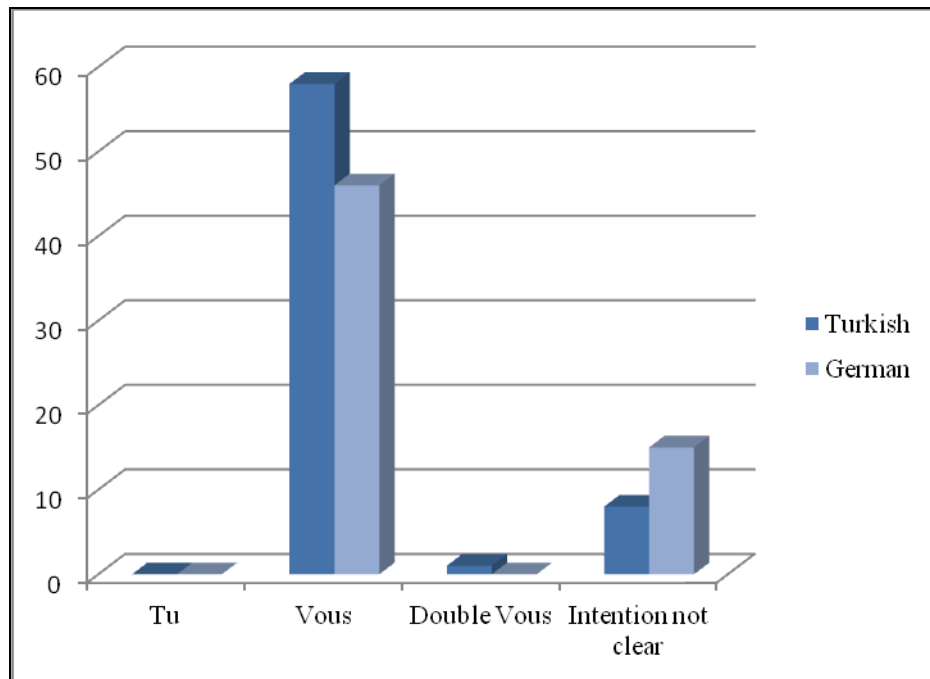
Fig. 9: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with an Elderly Person



Considering the alerters used in this case, we observed pragmatic failure in Turkish. As far as the university context is concerned, some of the alerters used are not appropriate as they refer to kinship terms. The low use of *tu* in Turkish is seen in combination with these alerters. We may interpret from this that the subjects pictured the addressee as an old person clothed like someone from a rural area as almost all first-generation migrants belonged to this class. In this case, such a usage would not point to pragmatic failure; however, the possibility of meeting such a person in a university cafeteria is quite low, which would let us presuppose a pragmatic failure that was observed rarely in terms of *tu* and alerter combination.

During the interlocution with the university teacher, we also observed formal language and a high rate of *vous* usage. In this situation *tu* was never observed.

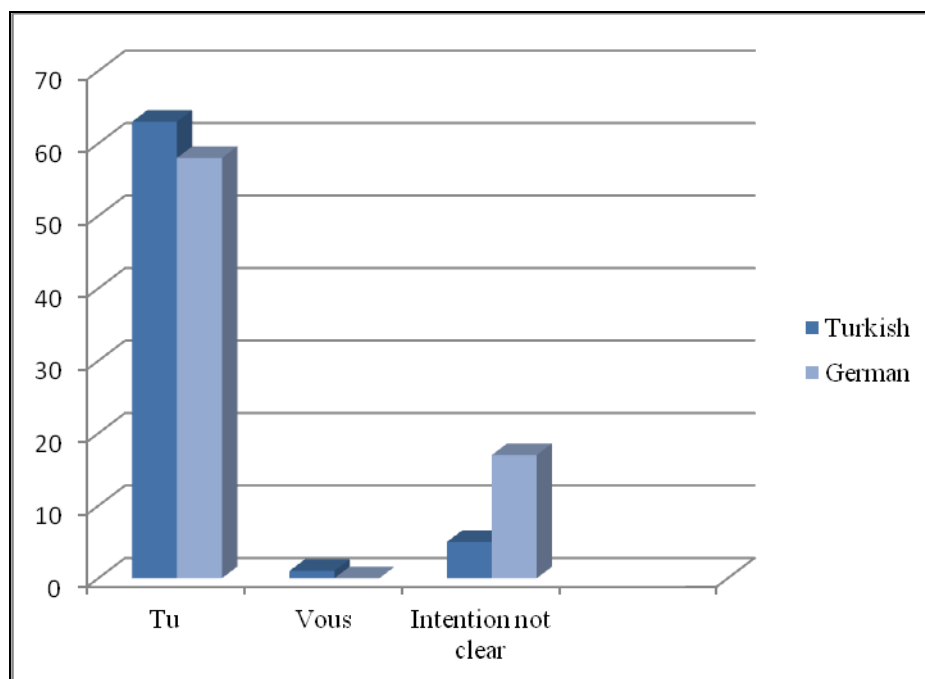
Fig. 10: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a University Teacher



Regarding the alerters in this case, in Turkish we have the frequent use of the '*hocam*' [my master] alerter which is the correct form of addressing a university teacher in the Turkish cultural university context. As far as the German context is concerned a use of Herr/ Frau plus surname would be appropriate which is rarely seen in the data. We assume that the subjects could not think of a surname at the moment of playing as the role card did not provide them with details on the imaginary person. Still the possibility that they may not know how to address in that certain case is not to be excluded, which would then refer to a pragmatic failure.

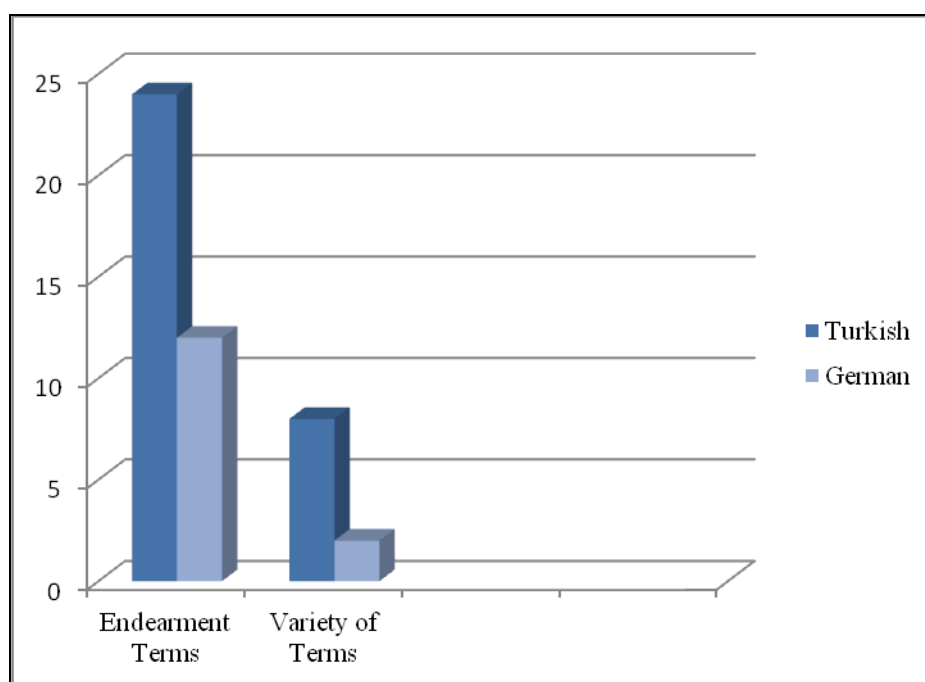
In the case of the child as an addressee, we observed a high rate of *tu* usage in both languages. The preference is quite clear that in both languages the subjects prefer *tu* during the interlocution with a child, as Figure 11 also demonstrates.

Fig. 11: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with a Child



Considering the alerters that have been used in this case, we observed the use of endearment terms in both languages; however, the rate of the Turkish endearment terms is twice as much as the German ones. Moreover, the variety in Turkish of such terms is striking compared to the German data, which is an indication of the subjects' pragmatic competence in Turkish in terms of addressing a child. Figure 12 illustrates the overview.

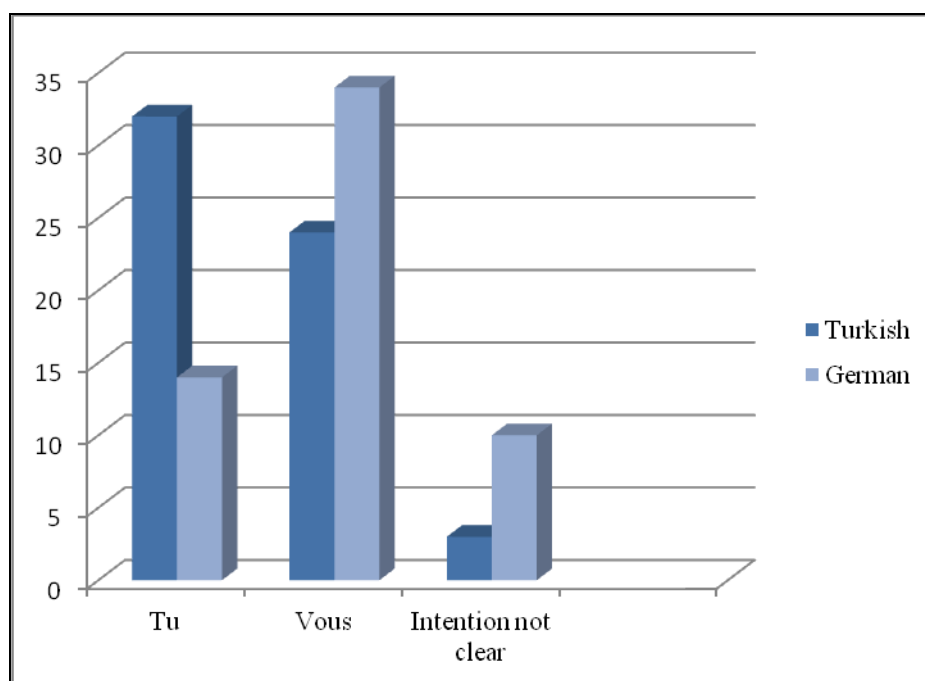
Fig. 12: Endearment Terms in the Interlocution with a Child



In the situation of *ignoring*, the first ignored person is the same-aged colleague, where the subjects mostly preferred *tu* during the realization of the apology. There is barely a *vous* usage in either Turkish or German. Only one subject in Turkish and one subject in German preferred the *vous* use in this case; however these subjects did not apply the same use to the other language, so there are no parallels between the languages. The frequent use of *tu*, in by almost all the subjects, show that they prefer the *tu* use in both cultures, when talking to a same-aged colleague. The data also shows that alerters are not frequently preferred. Endearment terms are hardly ever used in both data. One difference is that attention getters are used more in German than in Turkish. Generally speaking, we can say that in the cases of the interlocution with same-aged persons that are acquainted somehow, in this scenario a colleague, the subjects do not have the need to keep a distance through *vous* marking. However, in the case of *jumping the line*, in which the same-aged addressee is not known to the subjects, the preference is not clear cut.

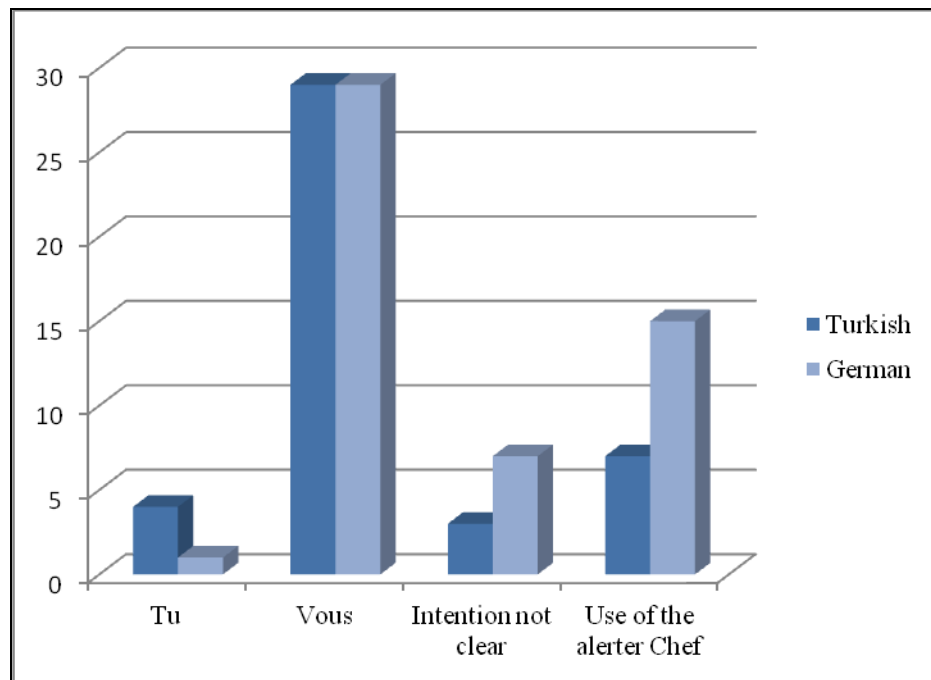
Turning to the interaction with the elderly colleague, we observed that *tu* is frequently used in Turkish, whereas in German *vous* is preferred. When we take a closer look at the combination with the alerters used, there is definitely a pragmatic failure in usage as the subjects preferred address forms of kinship. As far as the German data is concerned, they do not prefer addressing of this form. We can interpret from this that the subjects make pragmatic failure in addressing elderly persons in Turkish, be it a stranger as in the case of *jumping the line* or an acquaintance as in the case of *ignoring*.

Fig. 13: Tu and Vous in the Interlocution with an Elder Colleague



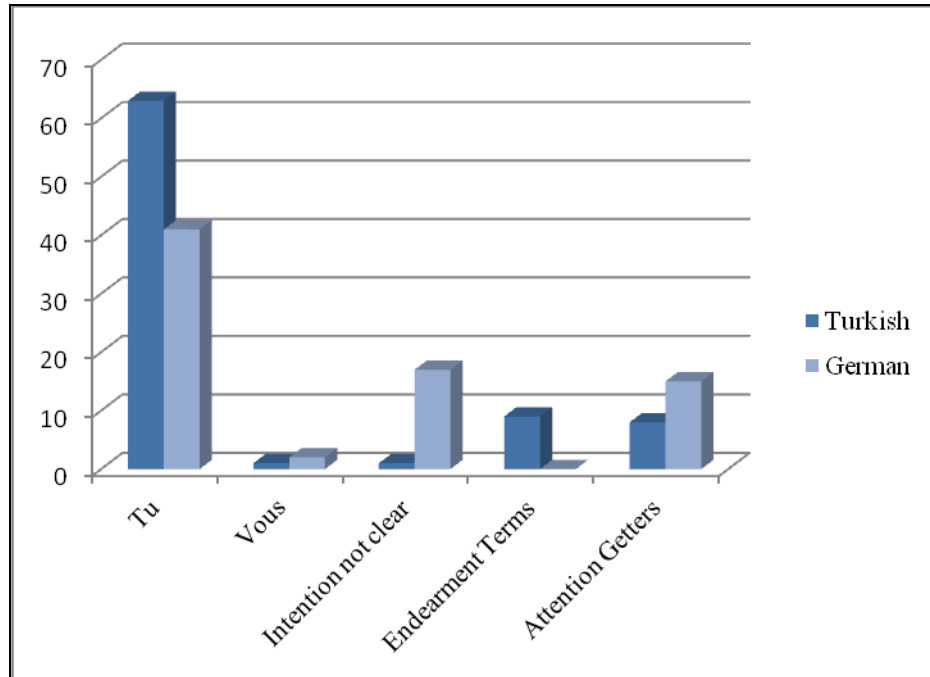
Referring to the interlocution with the boss, the politeness in this situation appears to be highly formal in both languages where *vous* is mostly preferred and *tu* is barely used. The subjects try to support the politeness with alerters which in this case, meant formally, are not appropriate. The suitable use in German of “Herr/Frau plus surname” is barely used, and instead the word *Chef* is favored. A similar use is seen in Turkish which is also not the correct way to directly address a boss.

Fig. 14: Tu and Vous and Alerters in the Interlocution with the Boss



In the teacher-student interlocution, the *vous* form is almost never observed in both data. Looking at the alerters, we observed the use of endearment terms in Turkish but not in German. Some of the endearment terms, culturally seen, would be more appropriate if used by an elderly person. We assume therefore that the subjects pictured a teacher as an old person in these cases, which shows that they did not play themselves when taking on the role of the teacher. Moreover, in the German context, we see a pragmatic failure as teachers would normally use the *vous* form when talking to their students in this case, the subjects may have thought of school pupils rather than university students.

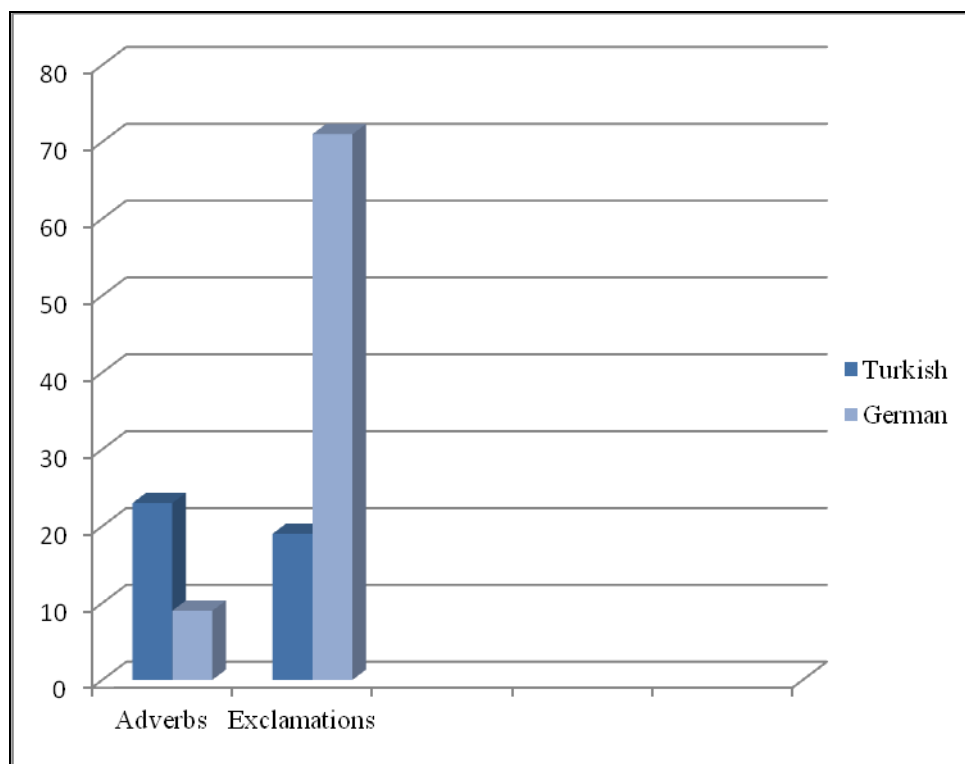
Fig. 15: Tu and Vous and Alerters in the Interlocution with the Student



Intensification of IFIDs

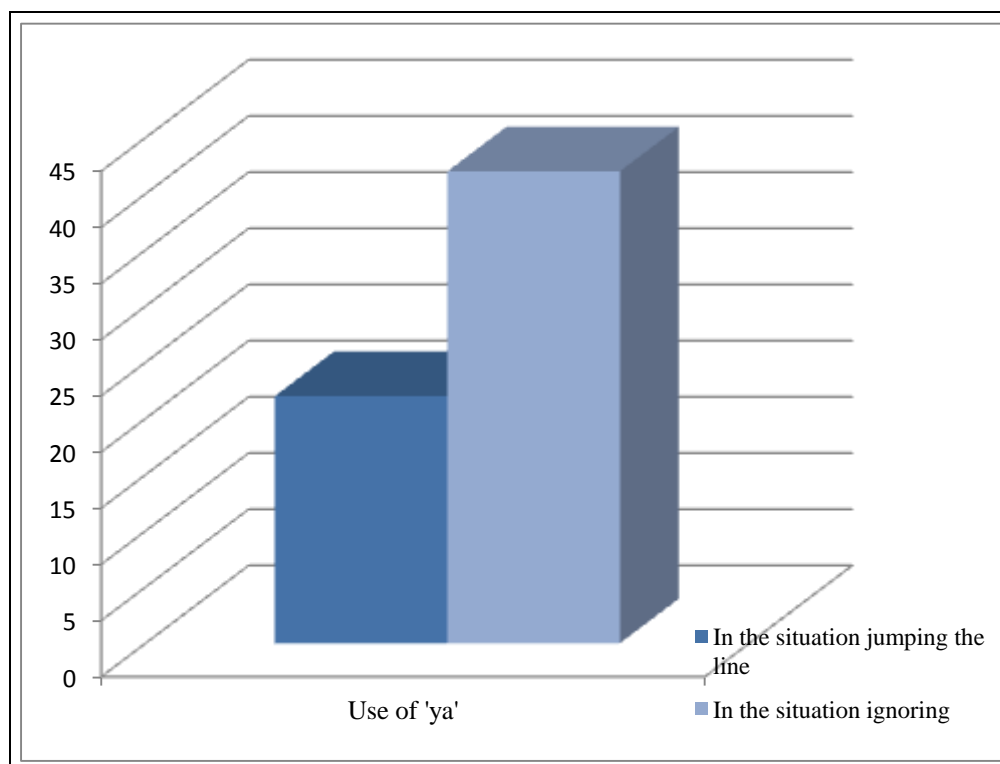
Findings that are related to how the apology is intensified can be summarized by examining the violation types separately. We observed a high rate of exclamation use in German when considering the internal intensification in the *jumping the line* situation. This is not valid for the situation of *ignoring* which can be explained by the duration of time between the violation happening and the realizing by the offender followed by the realization of the apologizing act. The shorter the time between them the higher the possibility of the use of an exclamation as an internal intensifier. Here the intensifier serves as a face saving means stressing the point of realization and the lack of intent.

Fig. 16: IFID Internal Intensification



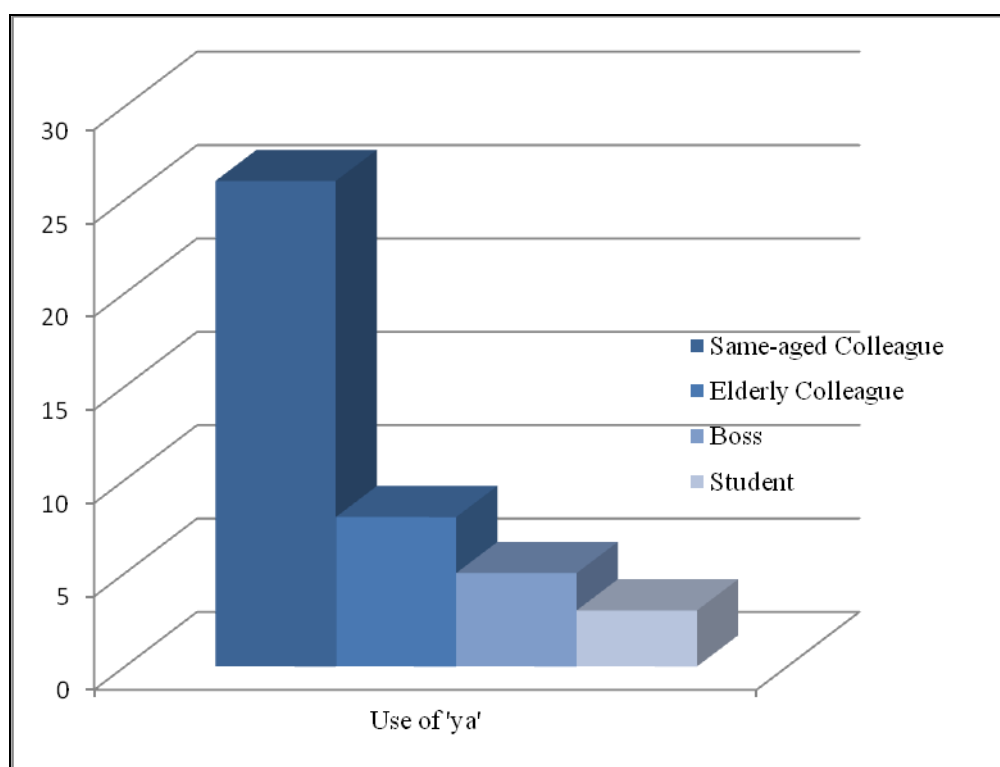
Language specific uses encompass the use of the *ya* particle in Turkish as an IFID internal intensifier. This particle is preferred more in the situation of *ignoring*; the reason for this lies presumably in the need for intensifying the apology more with *ya* with its pitying effect as the violation of ignoring is a stronger one than jumping the line. The general distribution can be seen in Figure 17.

Fig. 17: IFID Internal Intensification with ,ya‘



Regarding the informality of *ya*, we observed with regard to the addressees that it was used the most in the interlocution with the same-aged colleague followed by the elderly colleague, the boss and the student as shown in Figure 17. It can be interpreted that the less the distance and power the higher the possibility to use the colloquial *ya*. Subsequently, the greater the distance and power between the interlocutors, the less the possibility to use *ya* in the utterance. Furthermore, as can be interpreted from the interlocution with the student, the need to intensify with a pitying particle is even less when the apologizer, in this case the teacher, is in a higher position than the addressee receiving an apology.

Fig. 18: Use of *ya* in terms of Addressees



Throughout the whole data the use of external intensifiers is almost never seen.

No reaction as a Strategy

With respect to the '*no reactions*' throughout the data, we coded them as strategies; addressee dependent, the subjects used this strategy as a sign of respect, a sign of not having the need to apologize (which would stand for a non-verbal negative attitude regarding the offense) and a way of opting out because of not being able to produce a suitable utterance.

The assumption that making an apology would be disrespectful is, in our opinion, to be seen as a pragmatic failure as this is literally not the case in either culture. The second way of preferring 'no reaction' could be interpreted as a denial of fault and would not fulfill the aim of an apology namely to bring back harmony into the relationship and is; therefore, not communication-friendly in terms of a conflict situation. The third one definitely denotes a lack

of pragmatic competence, as they justified their preference by stating that they would not know what and how to say and how to address that person and would therefore do nothing (see pp.148,156).

13. Implications for Education

Taking into account the fact that language acquisition and learning is about acquiring and learning rules of a certain language we cannot exclude pragmatics from this process. Referring to the definition of pragmatic competence which relates to ‘a set of internalised rules of how to use language in socio-culturally appropriate ways, taking into account the participants in a communicative interaction and features of the context within which the interaction takes place’ (Celce-Murica and Olshtain, 2000:19), we obviously see the need to include pragmatics into language teaching classes.

Pragmatic competence comprises both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competence. The ‘internalised rules’ statement postulates a practice in pragmatic competence, which is not always the case in SLA/SLL. There are various publications that have underlined the fact that second language pragmatics cannot be excluded and this is receiving more attention day by day. As stated by O’Keeffe, Clancy and Adolphs (2011) ‘the teaching of pragmatics in the language classroom is important for two reasons (1) it has been demonstrated that there is need for it; and (2) quite simply, it has proven to be effective’. In spite of its limitations, the study yields useful information regarding the Turkish-German pragmatic competence in consideration of remedying strategies. Subsequently, the results show that the inclusion of pragmatics into classes is also important as far as bilinguals of Turkish and German are concerned. The findings that denote either lack of pragmatic competence or pragmatic failure in both languages procure the need for instruction. For example, the pragmatic failure in the use of alerters in both languages or the preference of ‘no reaction’ as a strategy which also equates to a pragmatic failure and lack of pragmatic competence, are a sign that instruction in pragmatics cannot be neglected. Moreover, issues that concern facework such as, for instance, the FTAs caused by illogical strategy combinations during the realization of the apology, the justifications used after an IFID or the highly face-threatening utterances in the offer-of-repair strategies inevitably are grounds to include pragmatics into language classes.

As a matter of fact, lack of pragmatic competence is not related to a poor level of grammatical competence. As also stressed by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) 'a good level of grammatical competence does not imply a good level of pragmatic competence'. It shows that pragmatic competence must be acquired or learned separately. Giving instructions in pragmatics in language classes can help learners avoid the consequences of pragmatic failure such as being impolite and misunderstood by the interaction partner(s). Moreover, the inclusion of pragmatics in classes would comprise *politic behaviour* and *polite behaviour* which, in the researcher's opinion, should be part of the general curriculum so that both parties (mono- and multicultural/lingual) can benefit. Accordingly, Watts differentiates between politeness and politic behaviour (2003:20):

[P]olitic behaviour involves mutually shared forms of consideration for others in a given culture, that impoliteness is an observable violation of politic behaviour which is open to negative evaluation by the participants and the researcher, and that polite behaviour is an observable 'addition' to politic behaviour, which may be positively evaluated, but is equally open to negative evaluation.

Considering this definition, negative and positive evaluation of politic and polite behaviour should be part of the curriculum so as to enable a common ground in the context of a multicultural environment. This experience can support empathy and openness to other cultures, which is part of the language program objectives.

As far as the component of face is concerned as part of pragmatic competence, we have to consider two different focus of face in a bicultural context as the German culture is negative-face oriented:

In der deutschen Gesellschaft wird der Anspruch auf Eigenständigkeit, Unabhängigkeit und Privatsphäre als ein hohes individuelles Gut angesehen, insofern spielen für den Ausdruck von Höflichkeit die Bedürfnisse des negativen Gesichts eine zentrale Rolle (Harting, 2007).

Taking this statement into account, we can assume that Turkish and German remain in a conflict as far as facework is concerned as Turkish, belonging to a collective culture is positive face oriented: ‚Das positive Gesicht verlangt Solidarität, Sympathie und Involviertheit, das negative Gesicht Distanz, Respekt und Unabhängigkeit‘ (Harting, 2007).

The findings concerning the offer-of-repair strategy, for instance, in which the self-, other- and the mutual-oriented face are observed, signalizes the need for instruction. Hence, bilingual pragmatic competence means the practice of both kinds of face in appropriate situations, perfectly knowing when to use which face without breaking the social-cultural norm. The inclusion of everyday situations into the language classroom shaped with the need to use speech acts in the appropriate form by practicing the right face can support the bilingual pragmatic competence. Being multifaceted, pragmatic ability can be understood by ‘shining a spotlight on more aspects involved in language learning and consider, among other things, how learners’ sociocultural being is linked to their pragmatic use’ (Ishihara and Cohen, 2010:100). In order to actualize such a holistic approach, pragmatics should be part of the current Turkish and German language teaching curriculum which is to the researcher’s knowledge not the case.

All in all, this inclusion would be helpful in terms of abolishing prejudices against individuals from a bicultural background who have a high grammatical competence but fail in simple pragmatic processes and are therefore segregated or have to encounter ‘cut-and-dried opinions’. Furthermore, it should also help to educate individuals so as to be able to solve conflict situations encountered in daily life.

14. Suggestions for further Research

As a pioneering effort, this study has sought answers to a range of questions and aspects that cover Turkish-German bilinguals' pragmatic competence. Further studies may concentrate on issues such as other speech acts as regards bilingual pragmatic competence and their sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic appearances. With respect to apologies additional analysis can be done in earlier stages of bilinguals' pragmatic competence; as for example when Turkish-German bilingual children start to apply apologizing strategies and what kind of strategies they prefer in each language. Longitudinal studies could help to elaborate the manners in which they manage the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic issues in both languages; what processes they encounter during the socialization and if they are aware of the conflict-solving nature of an apology. Another point worth studying is the monolingual perspective in terms of apologizing strategies for contrasting purposes and amongst other things if an intercultural style of Turkish-German bilinguals exists or not.

As far as new areas of investigation that were prompted by this study are concerned, several research questions arise for further inspection. For instance, an interesting issue would be to take a closer look at 'taking on responsibility' sub-strategies, as *making justifications* appears as an outstanding sub-strategy used by the subjects in this study. Further studies may concentrate on the early language use with a focus on these strategies to indicate when bilingual children start applying these strategies and if they are learned or acquired and under which circumstances the pragmatic failure eventually arises in order to be able clarify this aspect.

Another point is the use of the {mIf} marker. Studies that concentrate on the pragmatic use of this marker in other contexts would give essential insight into the use of {mIf} and how its semantic context changes in a multilingual environment.

In terms of politeness another striking aspect for further research is the use of alerters. In particular, situations where the power and distance variables are high, serve as important motives for future studies as observed in this study. Moreover, other bilinguals or multilinguals who are part of the German culture, could be compared to find out if they display similar pragmatic failure due to lack of educational input or acquisitional processes to substantiate this occurrence. In addition to this, it would be a topic to debate to find out how these elements could be included in language programs and what effects it would have on the learning process, which would be interesting in terms of program evaluation studies.

To sum up, this study only covers the speech act of apologizing, cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics have a wide scope which enable a range of research questions in terms of multilinguals, and it should be pointed out that this study gives an insight into an area where research is scarce. Further studies would help to clarify the issues raised by this study and provide additional advice in the development of effective Turkish and German education programs.

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APPENDIX A: Discourse Role Play Tasks

1. In the Line 1

You inadvertently jump the line ahead of a same-aged person in the university cafeteria. The person calls your attention to the situation.

2. In the line 2

You inadvertently jump the line ahead of a person of the age of sixty in the university cafeteria. The person calls your attention to the situation.

3. In the line 3

You inadvertently jump the line ahead of your professor in the university cafeteria. The professor calls your attention to the situation.

4. In the line 4

You inadvertently jump the line ahead of a child at the age of ten in the university cafeteria. The child calls your attention to the situation.

5. Small Talk 1

Your same aged colleague comes into your office and starts talking about his/her weekend. However, you are very busy and cannot concentrate on what he/she is actually telling you and therefore do not give him/her the special attention he/she is expecting. After a while your colleague leaves your office in an offended mood. In your lunch break you bump into him/her in the cafeteria.

6. Small Talk 2

Your colleague of the age of sixty comes into your office and starts talking about his/her weekend. However, you are very busy and cannot concentrate on what he/she is actually telling you and therefore do not give him/her the special attention he/she is expecting. After a while your colleague leaves your office in

an offended mood. In your lunch break you bump into your colleague in the cafeteria.

7. *Small Talk 3*

Your boss comes into your office and starts talking about his/her weekend. However, you are very busy and cannot concentrate on what he/she is actually telling you and therefore do not give him/her the special attention he/she is expecting. After a while your boss leaves your office in an offended mood. In your lunch break you bump into your boss in the cafeteria.

8. *Small Talk 4*

Your student comes into your office and starts talking about his/her weekend. However, you are very busy and cannot concentrate on what he/she is actually telling you and therefore do not give him/her the special attention he/she is expecting. After a while your boss leaves your office in an offended mood. In your lunch break you bump into your student in the cafeteria

APPENDIX B: The Background Questionnaire

Bireysel Bilgiler

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

Kadın ☐

Erkek ☐

2. Yaşınız:

18-20 ☐

20-25 ☐

25-30 ☐

3. Doğum Yeriniz:

Türkiye ☐

Almanya ☐

4. Türkiye’de doğduysanız

Almanya’ya geliş yaşı:

0-1 yaş arası ☐

1-2 yaş arası ☐

2-3 yaş arası ☐

3-4 yaş arası ☐

Diğer _____

Okula ve Dil Edincine Yönelik Bilgiler

5. Anaokuluna gittim.

Evet ☐ _____

(Şehir/Ülke)

Hayır ☐

6. İlkokula Türkiye’de gittim.

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

6.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,
Türkiye’de devam ettiğiniz
sınıfları işaretleyin
(birden fazla şıkkı
işaretleyebilirsiniz)

1. sınıf ☐

2. sınıf ☐

3. sınıf ☐

4. sınıf ☐

5. sınıf ☐

7. Almanya’da ilkokula gittiğim süre içinde Türkçe dersine katıldım.

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

7.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,
kaçıncı sınıfta katıldığınızı belirtiniz
(birden fazla şıkkı
işaretleyebilirsiniz):

1. sınıf ☐

2. sınıf ☐

3. sınıf ☐

4. sınıf ☐

8. **Almanya’da** ortaokula gittiğim
süre içinde Türkçe dersine katıldım.

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

8.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,
ortaokulda katıldığınız
Türkçe dersinin türü:

Muttersprachlicher Unterricht mit Religionskunde ☐

Nur muttersprachlicher Unterricht ohne Religionskunde ☐

Nur Religionskunde ohne muttersprachlichen Unterricht ☐

WPI ☐

WP II ☐

Türkisch als Begegnungssprache ☐

Diğer _____

9. Liseyi bitirdiđiniz okul türü:

Gymnasium ☐

Gesamtschule ☐

Diđer _____

10. Lisede Türkçe dersine katıldım.

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

10.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,

lisede katıldığınız

Türkçe dersinin türü:

GK ☐

LK ☐

11. Lise bitirme sınavlarında

(Abitur) Türkçeyi seçtim.

Evet ☐

Yazılı sınava

1. ders olarak (als 1. Fach) ☐

2. ders olarak (als 2. Fach) ☐

3. ders olarak (als 3 Fach) ☐

girdim.

Sözlü sınava girdim ☐

(als 4. Fach)

Hayır ☐

12. Evimde konuştuğum dil:

Sadece Almanca ☐

Sadece Türkçe ☐

Almanca ve Türkçe karışımından oluşan bir dil ☐

Duruma göre Türkçe, duruma göre Almanca ☐

Son şıkkı işaretlediyseniz bu durumları

örneklendiriniz: _____

Velilerinizin Eğitim Durumuna Yönelik Bilgiler

13. Annenizin son bitirdiği eğitim kurumu:

İlkokul ☐

Ortaokul ☐

Lise ☐

Üniversite ☐

Meslek eğitimi (Ausbildung) ☐

Hiç öğrenim görmedi. ☐

14. Babanızın son bitirdiği eğitim kurumu:

İlkokul ☐

Ortaokul ☐

Lise ☐

Üniversite ☐

Meslek eğitimi (Ausbildung) ☐

Hiç öğrenim görmedi. ☐

15. Anneniz Almanya’da eğitim gördü

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

15.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,

Fortbildung ☐

Ausbildung ☐

Diğer _____

16. Babanız Almanya’da eğitim gördü

Evet ☐

Hayır ☐

16.a. Yanıtınız evet ise,

eğitim türünü belirtiniz: _____

17. Annenizin iş durumu:

İşçi ☐

Memur ☐

Ev kadını ☐

Serbest meslek ☐

Emekli ☐

İşsiz ☐

Diğer: _____

18. Babanızın iş durumu:

İşçi ☐

Memur ☐

Serbest meslek ☐

Emekli ☐

İşsiz ☐

Diğer: _____

APPENDIX C: Apologizing Strategies according to the CCSARP Coding Manual

APOLOGIZING STRATEGIES

IFID	<p><u>An expression of apology</u> <i>özür dilerim,</i> <i>kusura bakma (do not look at the mistake)</i> <i>I apologise</i> <i>Entschuldigung</i></p> <p><u>An expression of regret</u> <i>üzgünüm, pardon</i> <i>I am sorry</i> <i>Tut mir leid</i></p> <p><u>An expression of forgiveness</u> <i>Affedersiniz</i> <i>Forgive me</i> <i>Verzeihung</i></p> <p><u>An expression of an excuse</u> <i>Excuse me</i> <i>Entschuldige mich</i></p>
Explanation	<p><u>Explicit</u> <i>The bus was late</i></p> <p><u>Implicit</u> <i>The traffic is always so heavy in the morning</i></p>
Taking on Responsibility	<p><u>S expresses trait of self-deficiency (thus accepting res.)</u> <i>I am so forgetful...</i> <i>You know me; I am never on time...</i></p> <p><u>Explicit statement of violation</u> <i>sıramı aldım</i> <i>dinlemedim</i></p> <p><u>Lack of Intent</u></p>

	<p><i>istemeden oldu, war nicht bewusst, wollte ich nicht</i> <i>it was not on purpose</i></p> <p><u>Explicit self-blame</u></p> <p><i>It's my fault/mistake</i> <i>Benim hatam</i> <i>Es ist meine Schuld</i> <u>Justify hearer</u> <i>You are so right to be angry.</i></p> <p><u>Expression of Embarrassment</u> <i>Çok utanıyorum</i> <i>Shame on me!</i></p> <p><u>Denial of fault</u> <u>Explicit</u> <i>It's not my fault that it fell down</i> <u>Implicit</u> <i>Evades responsibility for example by ignoring a complaint, talking about something else...</i></p> <p><u>Accepting the offense but not taking on responsibility / Admission of facts but not responsibility</u></p> <p><u>Justification</u> <i>I haven't had time to do it</i> <i>Vaktim olmadı</i></p> <p><u>Blaming someone else</u></p> <p><u>Attacking the complainer</u></p>
Offer of Repair Explanation or Account	<p><u>Specified</u> <i>I'll pay for it</i></p> <p><u>Unspecified</u> <i>I'll see what I can do</i></p>
Promise of Forbearance	<p><i>This won't happen again</i> <i>Bir daha olmaz</i> <i>Passiert nicht noch mal</i></p>

APPENDIX D: Intensification and Downgrading of the IFID

IFID Internal Intensification	
Adverbials	<i>Çok, sehr, wirklich, really, very much</i>
Double Intensification	<i>Çok çok özür dilerim I am very very sorry Tut mir sehr sehr leid</i>
Exclamations	<i>Ayyy özür dilerim Oh! I am sorry Oh! Tut mir leid.</i>
Particles	<i>Ya özür dilerim Kusura bakma ya</i>
Use of Please	<i>Özür dilerim lütfen Please forgive me Bitte entschuldige mich</i>

IFID External Intensification	
Concern for the hearer	<p><i>Çok mu bekledin?</i> <i>Have you been waiting long?</i> <i>Musstest du lange warten?</i></p>
Appeal to hearer's understanding	<p><i>Anla beni ne olur!</i> <i>Please understand me!</i> <i>Verstehe mich bitte!</i></p>
Self-castigation	<p><i>Ben bir aptalım!</i> <i>I am such a fool!</i> <i>Wie kann ich nur so blöd sein!</i></p>
Advice for the future	<p><i>Gelecek sefere daha iyi olur</i> <i>Next time I'll do it better.</i> <i>Nächstes mal mache ich es besser</i></p>
Combination of the above	<p><i>Ben bir aptalım! Gelecek sefere daha iyi olur.</i> <i>I am such a fool! Next time I'll do it better.</i> <i>Wie kann ich nur so blöd sein! Nächstes mal mache ich es besser.</i></p>

Appendix E: Coding Example

1.1.26	Özür dilerim	yanlışlıkla sıranızı elinizden al{m!f} olabilirim			kusura bakmayIn
Strategies	IFID1	Taking on Res: Explicit Statement of Vioation+Lack of Intent			IFID2
1.2.26	entschuldigen Sie	bitte	[makes space]	ich glaube ich habe Ihren Platz weggenommen	
Strategies	IFID	Intensifier IFID Internal: use of please	Offer of repair (non-verbal)	Taking on Res: Explicit statement of violation	

INDEX

- Aijmer *74, 193*
- Aston *49, 193*
- Austin *25, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 41, 70, 193*
- Austin and Searle *30*
- Bachman *18, 48, 193*
- Bachman and Palmer *18*
- Bachman/Palmer *48*
- Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei *189*
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Hartford, *193*
- Bargiela-Chiappini *59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 193*
- Barron *40, 45, 46, 48, 57, 193*
- Beebe et al. *58*
- Blum-Kulka *21, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 73, 76, 77, 79, 81, 91, 169, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201*
- Blum-Kulka and Kasper *21*
- Blum-Kulka and Sheffer *21*
- Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper *38*
- Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper *22, 79*
- Brown *42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 72, 77, 78, 194, 202*
- Brown & Levinson *62, 63*
- Brown and Levinson *42, 61, 63, 77, 78*
- Canale *17, 194*
- Canale and Swain *17*
- Carnap *25, 195*
- Celce-Murica *188, 194*
- Chomsky *25*
- Clancy and Adolphs *188*
- Clark and Bangerter *86*
- Clyne et al. *55*
- Cohen and Olshtain *41*

Coulmas <i>41, 46, 195, 196</i>	Goffmann <i>59</i>
Crystal <i>41, 195</i>	Gordon and Lakoff <i>35</i>
Darby & Schlenker <i>83</i>	Green <i>27, 38</i>
Darby and Schlenker <i>73, 83</i>	Grice <i>25, 33, 39, 196</i>
Ditton <i>62, 195</i>	Gudykunst <i>20, 196</i>
Dörnyei <i>193</i>	Gül <i>94, 196</i>
Durkheim <i>60, 61, 62</i>	Habermas <i>17, 197</i>
Earley <i>64, 195</i>	Harlow <i>41, 194, 197</i>
Edmondson <i>71, 197</i>	Harting <i>190, 197</i>
Edward T. Hall <i>44</i>	Herskovits <i>44, 197</i>
Eelen <i>65, 195</i>	Holmes <i>47, 72, 197</i>
Ehlich <i>63, 195</i>	Holtgraves <i>81, 197</i>
Ervin-Tripp <i>41, 196</i>	House <i>22, 38, 43, 58, 73, 79, 81, 169, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 202</i>
Faerch <i>48, 58, 194, 196</i>	House–Edmondson <i>43</i>
Faerch/Kasper <i>58</i>	Huang <i>24, 25, 36, 197</i>
Fraser <i>45, 65, 68, 70, 74, 75, 196</i>	Hymes <i>17, 41, 196, 197</i>
Fraser/Nolen <i>45</i>	Ishihara and Cohen <i>190</i>
Geertz <i>44, 196</i>	Jucker <i>52, 86, 87, 197</i>
Givens <i>73, 83, 196</i>	Kameda & Agarie <i>83</i>
Goffman <i>59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 71, 72, 195, 196, 198</i>	

Kasper *18, 19, 46, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 73, 81, 169, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201*
 Kasper and Rose *18, 19*
 Lakoff *25, 68, 69, 196, 201*
 Leech *18, 37, 198*
 Levinson *24, 25, 42, 46, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 72, 77, 78, 194, 198, 202*
 Lim *63, 198*
 Lin *66, 200*
 Maeshiba et al *57, 58*
 Manning *62, 198*
 Marti *20*
 Meier *68, 72, 77, 78, 81, 198*
 Mills *73, 196*
 Morgan *34, 196, 198*
 Morris *25, 199*
 Nikula *58, 199*
 O’Keeffe *188, 199*
 Odlin *54, 199*
 Ohbuchi *83, 199*
 Olshtain *41, 42, 46, 68, 73, 76, 77, 79, 91, 188, 194, 195, 199*
 Olshtain & Weinbach *68*
 Olshtain and Cohen *73*
 Paradis *48, 200*
 Recanati *25, 200*
 Ross *38, 199, 200*
 Sadock *35*
 Sbisá *37, 38, 40, 200*
 Scher & Huff *73, 83*
 Scher and Darley *70, 83*
 Schlenker and Darby *73*
 Schmidt/ Richards *46*
 Searle *30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 47, 70, 71, 200, 201*
 Smith & Stack *73*
 Su *54, 57, 201*
 Takahashi *55, 58, 201*
 Takahashi and Beebe *55*

Takahashi/Beebe 46, 58	Verschueren 24, 199, 200, 201
Thomas 18, 19, 47, 56, 197, 201	Vilkki 59, 65, 201
Ting-Toomey iv, 66, 67, 91, 137, 173, 174, 198, 200, 201	Watts 65, 189, 195, 201
Ting-Toomey and Atsuko Kurogi 66	Watts et al. 65
Triandis 44, 201	Wierzbicka 45, 47, 201
Trosberg 73, 201	Wilson et.al. 63
Trosborg 79, 80, 91	Wolfson 55, 199, 202
Trubisky 66, 200	Yu 45, 202